

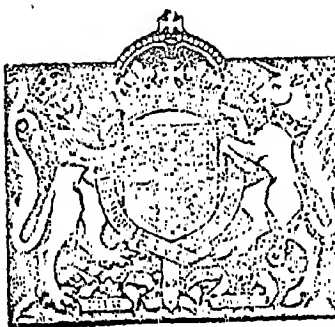
INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XVI.

SIXTEENTH MEETING HELD AT CALCUTTA

December 1939.



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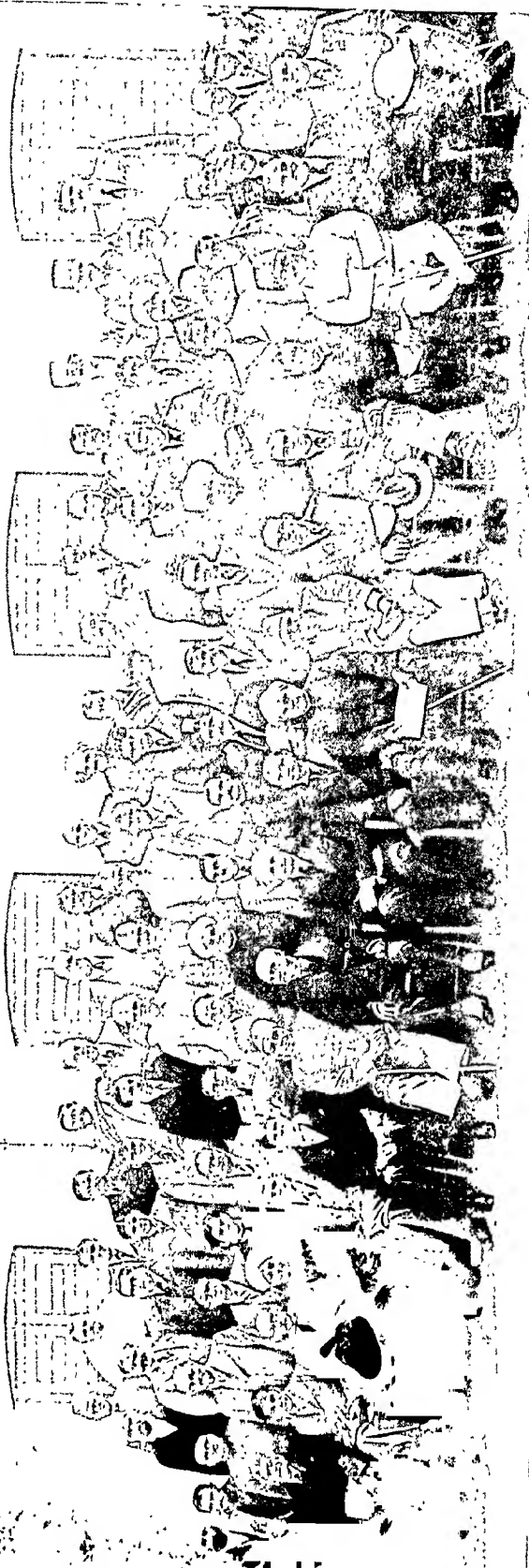
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PART I.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SIXTEENTH
SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.**

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.
Sixteenth Session, Calcutta, 13th December 1939.



- Mr. L. P. Dutta (Bengal); Mr. Yumino Singh (Manipur); R. B. K. L. Karun (Assam); Mr. M. H. Krishna (Mysore); Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan (Trivandrum); Dr. M. Nizamuddin (Hyderabad); K. B. A. F. M. Abul Ali (Bengal); Sir J. N. Sarkar (Bengal); H. E. Sir John Herbert; Dr. S. N. Sen (Secy.); Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras); K. B. Hidayet (Bengal); Dr. Sir S. A. Khan (U. P.).
- 1st Row:—S. Ganda Singh (Punjab); Mr. B. N. Banerji (I.R.D.); Prof. Sri Ram Sharma (Punjab); Sardar S. N. Banerji (Patna); K. B. K. M. Asadulla (Bengal); Mr. S. F. Mokerjee (Gwalior); Mr. Badi Narain (Gwalior); Mr. K. K. Basu (Bihar); Principal R. P. Patwardhan (Bombay); Mr. M. S. S. Srinivasachari (Madras); Dr. Prakash Chandra Ghose (I. R. D.); Mr. P. N. Banerjee (Bengal); Dr. N. K. Sinha (Bengal); Mr. S. H. Askari (Bihar); Dr. K. R. Qanungo (Bengal); Dr. S. O. Law (Bengal); Mr. S. Runtambekar (U. P.);—Aga Mirza M. Nomazde (Bengal); Mr. B. S. Singhee (Bengal); Mr. K. A. Afzal (Bengal); Dr. J. C. Sinha (Bengal); Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar (U. P.); Mr. S. V. Chatterji (U. P.); Dr. B. P. Saksena (U. P.); Dr. B. Prasad (U. P.); Dr. H. R. Gupta (Punjab); Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah (Bengal); Mr. C. V. Joshi (Baroda); Dr. N. L. Leharoux (Clandernagar); Mr. R. N. Nagar (U. P.); Mr. K. P. Mitra (Bihar); Dr. S. K. Banerjee (U. P.); Mr. Y. K. Deshpande (Bhar); Mr. Y. M. Kale (Bhar); Dr. N. L. Mr. Deb Prasad Ghosh (Bengal); Mr. B. Prasad (Bengal); Dr. Meghnad Shah (Bengal); Mr. M. J. Pathakji (Jungnagall); Dr. B. A. Salefore (Bombay); Mr. D. N. Banerjee (Bengal); Mons. A. Hussain Khan (Hyderabad); Dr. A. P. Das Gupta (Bengal); Col. R. N. Chopra (Bengal); Dr. Raghbir Singh (O. I.); Dr. R. K. Mulderjee (U. P.); Dr. R. K. Mulderjee (U. P.); Dr. K. K. Dutta (Bihar); Mr. A. M. Siddiqui (Hyderabad); Dr. Yousuf

Proceedings of the Public meeting of the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Darbhanga Library Hall, Calcutta, on the 13th December 1939.

The public meeting of the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Darbhanga Library Hall of the University of Calcutta on the 13th December 1939. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* president of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Honorary D.Litt., the senior member of the Commission, presided over the meeting.

The following members were present:—

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Hony. D.Litt.
2. Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt.
3. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph. D., M.R.A.S.
4. Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
5. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., for the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
6. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office.
7. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., Additional member.
8. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. (Secretary).

Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and a member of the Commission, was absent as he had left India for reasons of health. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, North-Western Circuit, Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi, additional member, was also absent on account of his military duties in connection with the war.

The proceedings of the meeting were opened by His Excellency Sir John Herbert, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal, at 11 a.m., in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. On arrival His Excellency was met at the main entrance of the Darbhanga Buildings of the University at 10-45 a.m., by the President and Secretary. The President then introduced the permanent, corresponding and co-opted members of the Commission to His Excellency after which a group photograph was taken. The members then walked in procession by the main staircase into the hall in the following order:—

Ordinary members in twos

Secretary and Local Officer

His Excellency and President

His Excellency's personal staff

The Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee

Other local co-opted members.

After His Excellency was seated the President welcomed him and His Excellency to declare the meeting open.

Speech of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, President.

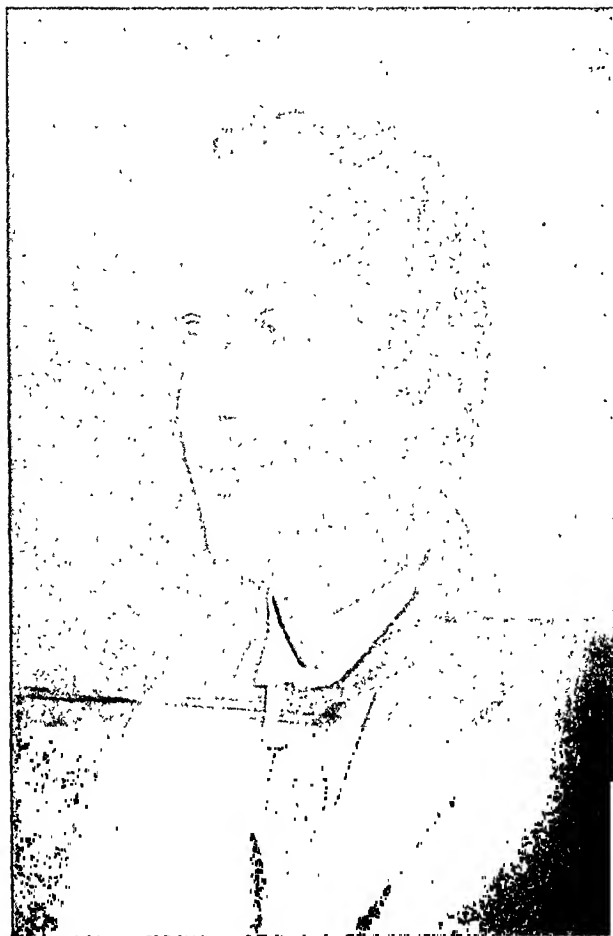
YOUR EXCELLENCY,

On behalf of the members of this Records Commission, I thank Your Excellency for your kindness in opening our present session. We meet in Calcutta again after a lapse of sixteen years and we are glad to get from Your Excellency the same encouragement that we then received from your illustrious predecessor the Earl of Lytton.

This Commission was appointed by the Government of India as a small and mainly official body, consisting of the Record Keepers of the Central Government and of the three Presidencies with three historical experts from outside. Its original functions were similarly limited to advising the Government of India about the preservation, calendaring and printing of its records and making rules for giving the public access to them. But in a short time it was found necessary to expand both the body and the scope of the Commission. We have since then taken in a larger body of the public under two new classes of members, called corresponding and co-opted, and we have also enlarged our programme of work.

Of the historical records relating to India, those in the English language and held by the British Government form only a fraction and that fraction relates to a very late period, roughly from 1757 onwards (if we except some Factory correspondence as distinguished from State-papers). But even after the year 1757, large areas of our country continued to be outside the purview of our Government records, because it was fully sixty years after Plassey that British paramountcy was established and thirty years more before the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier came within the ambit of the British Indian Empire. Large bodies of records for this intervening period are in private possession or in the hands of the Indian States. As for the period preceding the rise of the British Indian Empire, all the records are in Persian, Marathi, Rajasthani and other Indian languages and none of them can be found in the archives of our own Government. It, therefore, became the aim of this Commission to tempt private collections of records out of their hiding places and make them available for historical study; and also to attract representatives of the Indian States to our meetings and interest them in the modern treatment and public use of historical records. A wider circle of scholars has been drawn to us by our practice of inviting learned papers for being read at our public sessions. The only condition we lay down is that the papers must describe unknown or hitherto unpublished records, or piece together and interpret freshly such records as are already known. This strict limitation of scope marks our Commission off from the Oriental Conference, the Modern History Congress and similar annuals that are springing up.

The title of our body naturally suggests a comparison with the Royal Commission for Historical Manuscripts in Great Britain, but we must modestly deprecate any such comparison. The long and noble series of publications of the British Commission (which has now become a centenarian) represents not only the wealth and antiquity of the Government archives there, but also the immensely rich and voluminous treasure of historical documents preserved by the noble houses that have helped to make British history by centuries of public service. The great historian of the Papacy, Leopold von Ranke, tells us that though the Vatican



Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., D.Litt. C.I.E.

records were closed to him for being a Protestant, he found very important masses of records in the houses of the Italian nobility whose ancestors had been officers of State. Similar records for the pre-British period of Indian history now survive only in the Indian States, the rulers of most of which were servants of the Mughal Empire.

The Jaipur State in Rajputana owns an unimaginably vast and valuable mass of records relating to the Mughal Empire and going back to the beginning of the 17th century and often covering the other provinces of India as well. These records have been recently explored, listed and properly arranged under orders of the present enlightened Maharajah Sir Sawai Man Singhji. All scholars interested in India's past will join with me in soliciting the Jaipur Darbar to print the cream of these records, as the late Gaekwad Sir Sayaji Rao had printed his ancestors' historical papers, both in Marathi and in English.

Apart from the Indian States, this Commission can legitimately claim that its past work, outside the Central Government's records, has been of no mean order. Our persistent representation led the Bombay Government to print the Peshwas' records (written in the Marathi language) in 45 volumes under the competent editorship of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. And the same Government has continued the good work by undertaking to print the English records relating to Maratha history. As illustrations of the wide range of our search and its happy results, I shall only mention that our corresponding member from French India discovered and gave to the world through this Commission, the last will of the famous Venetian traveller Niccolao Manucci and that of M. Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry. Many valuable Portuguese records have been made known to us by Chevalier P. Pissurlencar of Goa, another esteemed colleague of ours.

Time will not permit me to refer to the work of our members from British India but it is my sad duty to mention the name of Sir Evan Cotton whose death is an irreparable loss to British Indian historiography and who used to enrich our publications with papers of enduring value and unimpeachable scholarship. The strange story of the part played by the Armenian race in the moulding of Indian history was patiently unfolded by Mr. Mesrobian Seth, another member whose recent death we must deplore.

Apart from discharging its duty as a consulting body for records in relation to the Government of India, this Commission has long been recognised as the connecting link between the Government of India and the wider public interested in Indian history. It is our duty to voice the feelings of the students of history in respect of the Government of India records. An increasingly large number, of Indian scholars—mostly advanced students who may be trusted to possess some sense of responsibility—are undertaking researches into their country's past on the solid basis of the authentic records of the British period, which are preserved in the Imperial Record Office of Delhi and the India Office Library of London. Our students complain that it is easier, quicker, and less harassing to secure the transcript of any document from the India Office than from Delhi; only it is far more costly. The problem has taken an acute shape from the recent outbreak of war and the consequent interruption of Indian students' work at the British universities and the suspension of typing and photographing at the British Museum and the India Office.

We students have no concern with such records at Delhi as are needed for administrative purposes and are officially called "Current". Nor are we keen on getting access to confidential papers in which important State secrets lie buried. But surely there is a time after which a seed loses its germinating power, and a historical secret ceases to be an official secret and becomes a public gossip. Is it not safer that after that sterilising lapse of time, the old secret should become an ascertained public fact, correctly founded on documentary evidence? In England all historical documents have been thrown open to scholars if they are at least 70 years old. Here in India we have been crying for the same liberality in respect of documents 120 years old, but without success.

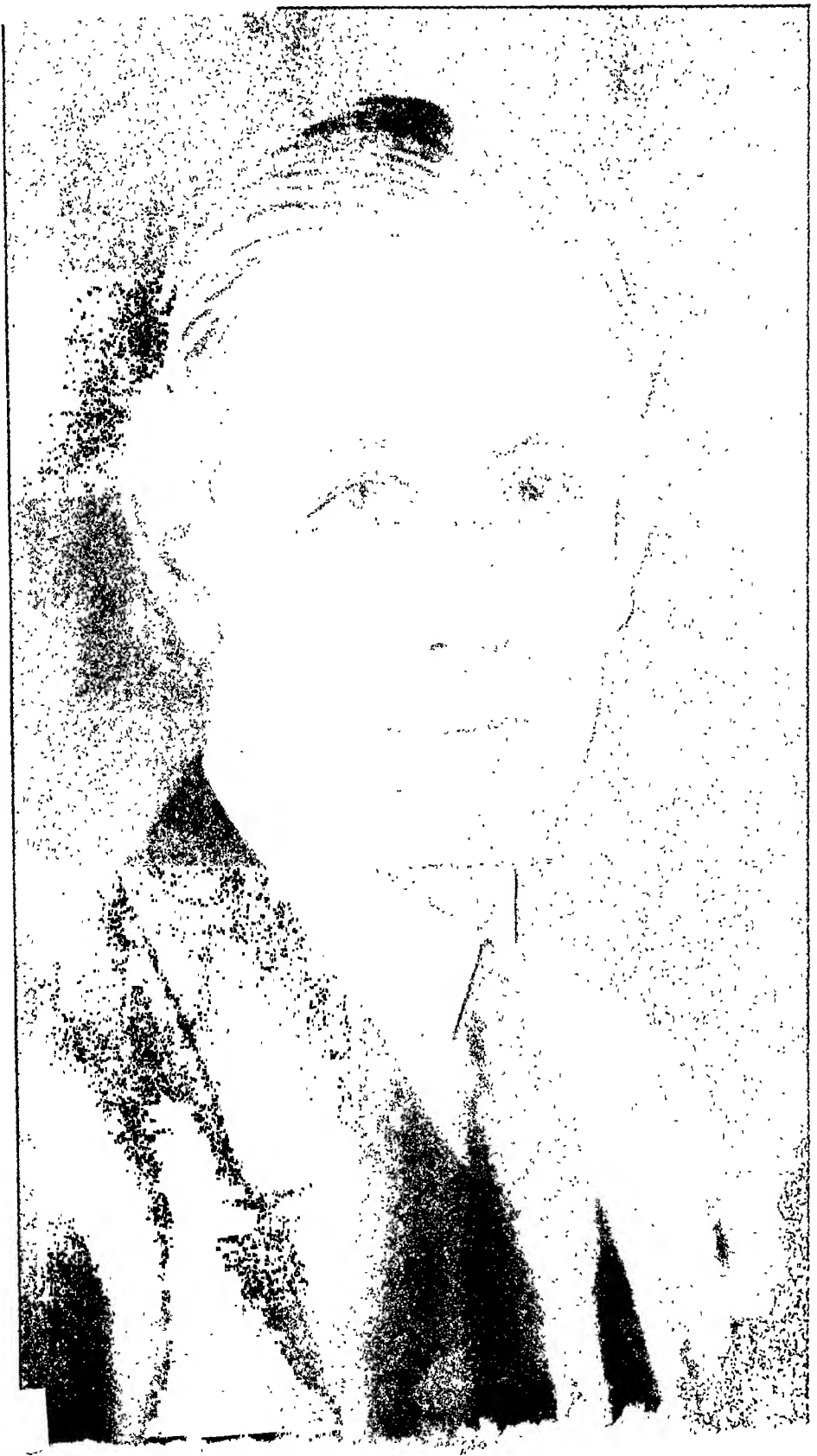
May I, as a member of this Commission ever since its foundation and a worker in touch with historical research students in all parts of India, urge that historical records (as distinct from "live" State secrets and current administrative files) are not a miser's hoard to be kept buried in dark cells, but a literary heritage for all succeeding generations, and that the best use to which they can be put is to publish them? The Federal Government has not the money to edit and print all, or even an appreciable fraction, of its valuable historical records. Why not let our scholars take this legitimate duty of civilised countries off the shoulders of the Government of India, by themselves doing the publication in their works?

Speech of His Excellency Sir John Herbert.

GENTLEMEN,

This is the second occasion on which the Historical Records Commission has met in Calcutta—the last being 16 years ago, and it is my very pleasant duty to welcome you and wish you a pleasant and instructive stay. I might add that having seen the formidable and learned volume of papers to be read and discussed I have no doubt about it being instructive.

Since Lord Lytton addressed you in 1923 Calcutta has lost some of its importance as a centre to which research scholars could come in search of original materials. The Imperial Records have recently been transferred to Delhi and whilst we, in Bengal, naturally regret their loss, we can only hope that the dry climate of Northern India will prove kinder to them than the more humid atmosphere of this Province. But what remains to us is both valuable and interesting. We still hold the Revenue and Judicial records as far as they have survived since the beginning of the British period. These are still a mine of fascinating information and still offer a wide field for original research. Since you last met here we have had visits from many scholars some of whom have published the results of their work. The economic and revenue history of the Province has quite naturally been their chief subject and Mr. Ramsbotham, Professor D. N. Bannerjee and Dr. J. C. Sinha all drew very largely from our record room for their historical publications. Other historians who made use of the facilities we can still offer are Rai Sahib J. M. Ghose and Professor Zachariah whilst a Dutch historian Mr. J. Van Kan, came from as far afield as Batavia to see what he could find about the Dutch East Indian Empire. We have still another source of historical wealth of which the potentialities are perhaps not fully known. I refer to our mofussil record rooms which contain many old documents and correspondence of great interest, especially of the early British period. They are visited occasionally by historians but I would commend them to your of still further attention.



I have no doubt that one of the things you are most anxious to hear is the action which has been taken from time to time on the recommendations made by your Commission. Although the greatest consideration has always been given to your suggestions, financial stringency has prevented the Government from doing in this direction as much as it would have wished. Your suggestion that the mofussil records, to which I have referred above, should be brought to Calcutta, has been approved in principle. But here we are faced with the problem of accommodation. The expansion of Government's normal activities has pressed hardly on the space available. Writers' Buildings is already overcrowded and Government has been compelled to provide alternative accommodation elsewhere for some of the routine offices and staff. As a result we have not, so far, been able to implement this recommendation. You have also referred to the necessity for press-listing, calendaring and reprinting records. I am glad to be able to say that we have been able to make some progress in this direction. Twelve volumes of the records of the Controlling Council of Murshidabad have been finished and press-listing of the Supreme Revenue Authority Proceedings has been completed up to 1781. That of the Provincial Councils of Revenue is also in progress. I am informed that expense has so far stood in the way of calendaring the records as also of reproduction by the photostat method, but your recommendations have not been overlooked and are still under consideration. The primary duty of those in charge of a record room must however continue to be the preservation of the records in good order and we have not failed to take appropriate action to deal with the ravages of dust to which attention was drawn by the Commission. I think I can safely say that no further anxieties on this score need be entertained.

To return to the purpose of this meeting to-day, I would like to congratulate you on the variety and interest of the papers which are to be discussed. Some, I see, have derived much of their material from our records—I refer particularly to the paper by Mr. S. C. Banerji, our Keeper of Records, on the Naib Nazims of Dacca, to Mr. D. N. Banarji's account of the accession of Nazim-ud-Dowla and to Dr. Das Gupta's paper on the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar. Others refer to matters of historical interest from all corners of India and amply illustrate the vast wealth of material upon which our scholars can draw.

I will shortly leave you to your deliberations but before I do so, I would like to wish you a successful and profitable meeting.

Speech of Dr. S. N. Sen, Secretary.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Indian Historical Records Commission has repeatedly asked the Government of India to throw open their records to genuine research students. The claims of such students were frankly recognised when the Commission was appointed twenty years ago. At the Poona session, last year, the President promised a prompt decision on this subject, and I have been asked to inform you all that the Political and External Affairs Departments have agreed to relax the existing restrictions. Details have yet to be settled, but I have reason to believe that such concessions as the departments concerned are prepared to make will go a long way to remove the grievances so eloquently voiced by Sir Jadunath. The existing rules will soon be revised and I sincerely hope that students of history, all over India, will make the

fullest use of the fresh facilities that the revised rules will provide. The Imperial Record Department does not treat the valuable manuscripts in its custody as a miser's hoard. It has been decided to print and publish one important series of records, *viz.*, the Governor Generals' Minutes. The scheme may be too ambitious and it may be long before we can show any tangible result, but a beginning will be made forthwith. May I avail myself of this opportunity to record publicly our obligations to Your Excellency's Government for such financial and other assistance as the Commission has received from them. I also take this opportunity of offering my grateful thanks to the authorities of the Calcutta University for having so generously extended their hospitality to the Commission. Need I add that it was exceedingly kind of Your Excellency to come here this morning to open the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission?

His Excellency then invited Sir Jadunath Sarkar to read his paper entitled, "A proposal for a subsidiary alliance in Rajputana in 1794". His Excellency left the hall after Sir Jadunath Sarkar had finished the reading of his paper and was seen off by the President and the Secretary. The reading of papers continued up to 1 p.m., when the meeting adjourned for lunch. The reading of papers was resumed from 1-40 p.m., and continued up to 4-15 p.m., when the members proceeded to the Indian Museum where they were entertained to tea by its Trustees. The reading of papers was resumed and concluded on the 14th at the end of the Members' meeting. The papers are printed *in extenso* on the following pages.

Names of gentlemen appointed by the Government of India as co-opted members for the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Calcutta on the 13th and 14th December 1939.

* *Co-opted members who were absent.*

† *Did not attend the member's meeting.*

N.B.—Representatives of the Provincial Government, Nos. 20—35, 73—75.

N.B.—Representatives of Indian States, Nos. 64, 65, 68, 76—83 and 95.

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A proposal for a subsidiary alliance in Rajputana, in 1794.

[By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., Hony. D.Litt.]

Mahadji Sindhia's appointment as Regent of the Empire of Delhi (*Wakil-i-muldaq*) by the Emperor Shah Alam II on 4th December 1784, introduced a complete change in the political situation in Rajputana. Hitherto, ever since 1734, Maratha bands had entered that province as hired tools of one or other of the local princes in their endless family feuds and inter-state disputes, and repeated their visitation for exacting the arrears of their promised pay. But, from this date onwards Maratha generals began to march into Rajputana as the accredited servants of their Suzerain for collecting the annual tribute lawfully due to him, which by the lapse of forty years or more (*i.e.*, ever since Nadir Shah's invasion) had fallen into arrears amounting to *crores* of Rupees. One such tribute-collecting expedition Mahadji Sindhia conducted into Jaipur in January—May 1786, with the Emperor in his train, which yielded eleven lakhs in cash and 32 lakhs in promises. A second expedition for the same purpose began in March next year and ended with the battle of Tunga (popularly called that of Lalsot) in July 1787.

During the first invasion, Daulat-ram Haldia, the anti-Maratha diwan of Jaipur was forced to flee to Lucknow, where he spent eight months (May 1786—January 1787) in intriguing for the hiring of an English brigade against the Marathas in Jaipur. Some local British Officers, notably Captain William Kirkpatrick, encouraged Daulatram's hopes of armed aid from their Government, though Lord Cornwallis, the newly arrived Governor-General, definitely forbade any English intervention in the quarrels of the Indian States as opposed to the clear orders of the Home authorities. As Cornwallis wrote to Kirkpatrick, on 28th March 1788 :—

“ Sindhia cannot be ignorant of many intrigues that met with more countenance than I approve of from this quarter ; and your long residence about Delhi may have contributed to increase his jealousy of this Government.” [*Poona Residency Corr.*, Vol. I, letter 86.]

During the temporary eclipse of Mahadji Sindhia's power after his retreat from Lalsot, Lord Cornwallis turned down all proposals for going against him, or forming a protective alliance with Jaipur which the Rajah of that Kingdom eagerly solicited. In a year and a half Sindhia regained full control over the Delhi Government and in three years over Rajputana as well. So, when he died in February 1794, the Rajput States lay prostrate beneath the Maratha heels.

In June of this last year, a French captain in Jaipur service named J. Pillet, made a pathetic but well-reasoned appeal to Sir John Shore, the new Governor-General through Lt.-Col. Peter Murray, a British officer, soliciting the E. I. Co.'s protective alliance with the Rajput States, or at least with Jaipur. After a long talk with Murray at Jaipur, he sent him a long French report, or rather *Memoire*, on the history and politics of that State, enriched with reflections and criticism on the Rajput character and the general condition of Indian society and Government. It is preserved in the India Office Library, London, Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 388, pp. 125—194. Miss L. M. Anstey, who copied it for us, remarks on the Ms.

"The writer of this document had apparently a very imperfect knowledge of the French language, and his copyist, besides being entirely ignorant of it, failed to decipher the Ms. in many instances, and either left blanks or rendered the text unintelligible. Only a few accents occur in the copy."

Relevant extracts from Pillet's Report, translated as far as such an unsatisfactory text would allow, are given below, with two letters from Colonel John Murray, Military Auditor General, to his brother Lt.-Col. Peter Murray, Adjutant General, and to Sir John Shore. These enable us to correct the note on Pillet in H. Compton's *European Military Adventurers*.

Proposals of Mons. J. Pillet.

I see nothing except a well-formed alliance between the Jaipur Rajah and the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the East India Company—if they see their interest in it—that can avert the deluge ready to descend on the Rajah's head, already preceded by a frightful tempest.

The least effective help which an authentic treaty solemnised by the appearance of an imposing and honest representative of the British Power at this Court and sustained by adequate forces on his frontier, can render is that it will afford grounds of defence in favour of their new ally, by the show of rupture which his enemies would fear from that imposing corps, always ready to make diversions in case of obstinacy on the part of his enemies. At the same time a smaller force, stationed as auxiliaries, with the Rajah [of Jaipur],—who under its auspices will summon his brethren and hold the enemy in check by the protection of his palace,—will, by this combination, conclude the matter by chasing these strangers (*i.e.*, the Marathas) out of his territory. But in order to ensure such a system of general peace it is desirable that a mutual alliance should be established between the promoters of such a very beneficial scheme, and. . . . it should be accelerated, in view of the exigencies of the case. For this purpose they should assist each other with the necessary means of undertaking it, on evident necessity,—which cannot be except by an exact concord and community of armed forces, munitions, finances and other things relevant and useful to the object in view.

I refer you, below, to a note of what the Prince [Sawai Pratap Singh of Jaipur] is in need of, in order to fulfil his views exactly in the greatest conformity to his actual condition and the extent of his necessity.

First, a defensive and offensive treaty between him and the Company.

Secondly, one of the Company's representatives at his Court.

Thirdly, the supplying by the British of 7,000 fusils, etc., 2,000 musketoons for a corps of Cavalry and as many pistols, sabres or words, banderoles, etc.

Fourthly, the uniforms necessary for that corps.

Fifthly, permission to raise or recruit in your territory or in that of the Nawab Wazir (of Oudh).

All this on the usual conditions between two parties without any restrictions whatever on the common interest.

With these succours—which are only an easy matter for the power of the Company,—they will put a good ally in a condition to second their (*i.e.*, the Company's).

views, be they never so extensive, on that side, because.....he and his friends, in a short time will second your views with 50,000 cavalry besides the resources of his territory, without asking for any return save a firm protection on the part of the Company and full liberty to enjoy his dominions in peace.

It should, however, be observed (as a condition, by you) that the Company will not call upon his auxiliaries or his allies to undertake any measure without making at the same time grants for their subsistence, or pecuniary subsidies for their upkeep.

It is clear that none of the above articles seems to be inconvenient, especially to the policy of a Power so preponderant and so much superior to all others (as the English Company). From Jaipur (June) 1794. J. Pillet.

Col. John Murray to his brother, 27th June 1794.

I have always been clearly of opinion, that the Northern Rajahs ought to be held up in their independence of the Marathas as a counterpoise ; and men of good political talent in England are of the same opinion ; but this is chiefly to be effected by the Rajahs, through their own wisdom, by uniting to resist encroachments and by resolution to guarantee each other in their respective dominions.

It will require time, and a perseverance in good faith towards each other, to make them sensible of the advantages that would result to themselves by establishing a system of this sort. The remote situation of the Rajahs renders us less uneasy about their subjugation by the Marathas than we ought to be ; but as we are not immediately affected, we are inclined to trust to the chapter of accidents, more perhaps than would be consistent with deeper views into future events. It is evident that the annihilation of the power of the Rajahs would leave the Marathas more at freedom to molest ourselves, and indeed make them an overmatch for any Power in India ; yet as the evils of war are certain, the advantages of enjoying quiet are desirable, and this may possibly make us less guarded than we should be against greater ultimate risks.

A general system for the peace of India, on the principles which I suggested in 1785, can only be established by authority from Home. Lord Cornwallis proceeded upon that principle in the alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas, and if the Northern Rajahs are brought into the circle, the Marathas would be taught that they must keep at home. Until then there can be little chance of permanent peace, especially as we have strengthened the Marathas by several political errors.

You acted very properly in declining to give any conjecture relative to the opinion which Government might form on any overture from the Rajah of Jaipur. If he wishes to make any proposition, he ought to do it in writing to Government ; you should ascertain, as well as you can, the extent of his dominions, his revenues and forces, and obtain the like information relative to the other Rajahs. You must not easily believe that the Rajah could furnish forty thousand horse, which at Rs. 30 per month, per man and horse, would cost nearly a *krone* and a half of Rupees per annum.

Col. John Murray to Sir John Shore, 10th July 1794.

I wrote some days ago to my brother relative to the Jaipur business in the very words of your note of this morning, " that a treaty offensive and defensive is out of

the question"—and I added that I had doubts of the Government's sending a Resident to that Court ; respecting this last point, however, I take the liberty of expressing my wish that you may be pleased to consider the subject. There is nothing more certain than that the countenance of our Resident was of essential service to Sindhia, who had the address to make important use of it, by inducing the neighbouring Chiefs to believe, that his connection with the English was so close, that, if necessary, they would aid him with troops to accomplish his purpose. I had occasion to ascertain personally, in 1785, the great influence which this idea had on the Chiefs, and I took some pains to undeceive them. It was on the same principle of adding to his own importance, that Sindhia was so earnest to have the Resident with him at Poona. There is little doubt that a Treaty on the terms suggested by Mons. Pillet, or upon better, might, as you observe, be obtained at any time ; but this, necessarily, supposes the Jaipur Power to be able to support itself in the meantime ; and the risk is, that it will be annihilated by the Marathas before they break with us. The countenance of our Agent from the Government, to the Northern Rajahs, without any ties whatever, would serve to encourage them to unite and coalesce among themselves, by showing that the English wish them well, and have not any particular exclusive partiality for the Marathas, and if these last should understand that this Government does not wish that the Rajahs should be crushed, there is some chance that the power of the Rajahs might, in the course of a little time, be so consolidated, as to enable them to resist the depredations of the Marathas. If the subjugation of the Northern Rajahs is a matter of indifference to the British Government, measures tending to protract, or prevent, the event, is (*sic in orig.*) unnecessary ; but if it is desirable on sound political grounds that the Princes should be encouraged to maintain their independence, and if the merely sending a Resident to Jaipur could have that tendency, as the Rajah seems confident would be the case, it is with you, dear Sir, to consider or not whether it should be done. There is no need of incurring much expense.

The bias which I confess I have in favour of the independence of the Northern Rajahs, rests entirely on public grounds. Whilst there were other Powers to the Northward between us and the Marathas, the more distant Rajahs were of little account with us ; but the change of circumstances renders, in my humble judgment, their independence an object of very great importance, as effecting a powerful check on the restless and insatiable Marathas, and being therefore essential towards the continuance of our paramount influence in India. I should be glad that Mr. Edmonstone (the Persian translator) was recommended not to confide anything on this subject to any Native.

I have the pleasure to be, my dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

JOHN MURRAY.

Anandaranga Pillai's Diary and the revenue administration of Tirupati.

[By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph. D.]

The temple of Sri Venkatesa on the hill at Triupati has been one of long standing and of great appeal to the temple-going public among the Hindus all over India. From very early times it was dependent upon the contribution made by the pious devotees ; but as time advanced it became the recipient, as in fact, other temples had become, of various benefactions often times of great value. This increased very largely with the advent of the Vijayanagar empire, and the temple was the owner not merely of vast properties in the shape of jewels and cash in the temple treasury, but was also possessed of landed property in bits of land, or portions of villages or whole villages, apart from the lands on which it received rents from the cultivators as renter. This meant a large amount of income, and a corresponding expenditure to be managed by the temple organisation which maintained particular departments for the purpose, while the general control and management of the affairs of the temple rested with the public represented by the Vaishnavas resident in the locality. When the authority of Vijayanagar disappeared and before the establishment of a new authority, a condition of anarchy prevailed for a time and things got upset a good deal, so that when a new authority established itself, it did not know what exactly its rights were and certainly the corresponding duties. Hence the actual arrangements brought about for conducting the administration of the temple have remained in obscurity, and the means for a clear understanding of the changes do not exist except in scattered bits of information here and there, and perhaps in the records of the East India Company since they came into the field and gradually established the Company's government to the extent ultimately of constituting the Madras Presidency.

The main political incidents to be noted in this connection happen to be the following principal ones. From the authority of the Vijayanagar Empire, and therefore Vijayanagar, rule, it passed on to that of Golkanda perhaps not involving much of change of any radical character. Under Golkanda the administration of the region underwent changes passing from the authority of Mir Jumla to that of the Nawab of Golkanda, and then from the Nawab of Golkanda to various officers in fief. Then followed the Mughal conquest of Golkanda itself, and the Mughal Empire appointed its own governor in the person of Zulfikar Khan, followed by others, his successors and even nominees. It was under one of these latter that the province of Arcot got to be constituted as Muhammadan province under the Mughal Empire, and naturally some kind of an administrative organisation stepping into the shoes of the government for the purpose of collecting the revenue and other dues owing to the government, where often times they introduced certain changes, sometimes varying the incidences, but generally continuing the old administrative organisation in the main. There is a possibility however, in this, that, in a transitional stage of doubtful authority, possessions, particularly of landed property, undergo changes. The actual cultivator remained on the land, as he was permanently wedded to the cultivation of the lands for his existence. But the ownership of the land in various forms and in various kinds of tenure was liable to variation,

The petty landowner would often move away from the place to save himself the trouble of being captured and illtreated, and it is the rights of these that became precarious and confounded. It is in that state of affairs that a body of people, whose function in the original organisation was that of the police, gradually stepped into the gap. This police function was called *Padaikkaval*. Contributions were made by landowners at so much for a unit, which was handed over to a person who was made responsible for the policing. These squatted upon the land appropriating the collection of the revenue in lieu of the previous landlord. This seems, in a large number of cases, to be the origin of a system which came to be known as the Poligar-system. In the region round Tirupati there was a large number of poligars whom the British had to bring under control even after a great deal of fighting to bring about a settled state of affairs. In this confusion the lands belonging to an institution like a temple shared the confusion, and perhaps passed to the new ownership. It is a change like that that appears to have taken place in the region round Tirupati before the formation, or the reformation of the province of Arcot, into the districts of North Arcot and South Arcot.

The temple must till then have had a large amount of revenue which might well be taken in two divisions. Permanent revenue coming out of the lands held in ownership by the temple and cultivated by tenants paid a recognised share of the produce to the owner. The second item of revenue is a variable amount; but in the case of this temple in particular, of very considerable value, as it continues to be down to date. It is a contribution made by pilgrim worshippers who come to the temple to pay their votive offerings, and otherwise to make contributions of very considerable value and of great variety. In fact the contributions made are of varied character consisting of all kinds of things, money, jewels, the articles of apparel and other things of the kind, which were received either as such or in equivalent value. Articles received were sold by auction, as they are now, and the amounts brought into the treasury. The temple maintained a treasury office, and even a separate department for the custodianship of the jewellery to keep them in condition. There was an accounts department, which maintained all the accounts, and must have had records of a systematic character. All that is now gone, and we have to grope our way to discover the actual management at the time with which we are concerned, that is, the period of the Carnatic wars, and that of the formation of the districts of North Arcot and South Arcot subsequently after the formation of the Madras Presidency.

There are a few references in the diary of Annandranga Pillai, the French Dubash at Pondicherry, who held the important office through a large number of years under Dupleix and his successors. He was a man of age and influence, and was in communication with all the parties that played an important part in the transactions. There are a number of references to Tirupati, but the first really important reference for our purpose is that noted under date October 3, 1749¹. The reference is "Srinivas Acharyar, the amaldar of Tirupati owed large sum to the Sarkar but fled as he could not pay. It was therefore resolved to appoint Vasudeva Acharyar amaldar on condition of paying down a lakh of pagodas for the outstanding dues and this year's rent. He promised to pay this sum within five days after recaching Tirupati and agreed to pay 47,000 pagodas a year counting from next year. It was decided

¹ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Vol. VI, p. 201.

to write the sanad accordingly, get it sealed and send off Vasudev Acharyar tomorrow". A footnote under this head sets it down that "the Tirupati revenues consisted of the dues collected from the pilgrims at the three annual pilgrimages, and amounted to 45,000 pagodas *plus* Rs. 52,000. I suppose the runaway amaldar to be the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on." The note here has reference to the transactions immediately following the battle of Ambur where the Nawab, Anwar-ud-din died, and Chanda Saheb and Muzafer Jung won with the assistance of the French under Duplex. But our concern for the present is the elucidation of the points regarding the administration of Tirupati in the extract above.

"We have to note first of all that in Mr. Dodwell's note there is a reference to the Tirupati revenue consisting of Rs. 45,000 pagodas, (of course, the rupees in front would be superfluous) and Rs. 52,000 a year. This would mean about two lakhs in rupees. If the rent to be paid, as agreed to, is to be 47,000 pagodas a year, as it is noted in the diary, that would take away more or less Rs. 1,64,500 out of this which is over two lakhs. The figures set down as the annual income of the temple do not seem to be quite accurate for one thing, as it was certainly from the one source, pilgrims' contributions, only. The setting down of the revenue in two denominations, Pagodas and Rupees, seems to tell its own tale. What is set down in pagodas must be something of a different character from what is set down in rupees. It seems that the revenue set down in pagodas is the revenue set down as such in the account books, and would mean the income from the rent and other regular sources which were perhaps collected and accounted for in pagodas, the current coin of the realm. The miscellaneous collections from contributions paid by pilgrims and others, and transmuted ultimately into cash is perhaps set down in the other under the denomination rupees. But this point is made clear in the further references in the diary as the Tirupati revenues should have been more as the renting or the farming is set down at two lakhs, and occasionally two and a half lakhs. In a subsequent reference¹ in the same volume the diarist notes that "Venkatanarasu has written to his father-in-law Madananda Pandit, that when the troops were encamped at Udaiyarpalaiyam, Cumalli Krishnaji Pandit, Nawab Saa-adat-ul-lah Khan Muzaffar Jang's diwan, who had been ailing, quitted his mortal body and attained heavenly bliss, on the 22nd at midnight, wherewith Nawab Muzaffar Jang was exceedingly afflicted. I hear that this man was greatly trusted by Hidayat Muhi-ud-din Khan, as he had been appointed his diwan by his grandfather the Nizam. He had been a close friend of Nasir Jang and the Nizam, and had served them so faithfully for 30 years or more, that they trusted him completely. He was by birth a Golconda merchant. Hidayat Muhi-ud-din Khan treated him as a father and always followed his counsel. As diwan, he enjoyed undisputed power. When, after the defeat of Anwar-ud-din Khan, they marched from Arcot to Pondicherry, he attended the Brahmotsavam festival at Tirupati and gave the lease of Tirupati to Srinivasa Achariyar, so that he did not come here with Nawab Muzaffar Jang. He died after joining the camp at Udaiyarpalaiyam. All say that he was charitable, sincere, and kind to all. When he reached Arcot, he wrote a letter of compliment desiring crude camphor, musk and Malacca sandal wood to be sent to Tirupati; so I purchased and sent them with a reply".¹

¹ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Vol. VI, pp. 276-77.

This entry of the diarist is dated 12th November 1749. The appointment of Srinivasa Achari Amaldar of Tirupati took place after the battle of Ambur and when the Pandit was in Tirupati on the occasion of the Brahmotsavam which generally takes place some time in September-October, that is, between the 15th of September and the 15th of October, and the appointment of Srinivasa Achari must have taken place about that time. The terms on which he was appointed must be terms agreed to between Dewan Krishnaji Pandit and the Amaldar. He could hardly have been a few months in office to have become defaulter and to be dismissed unless it be that he agreed to quite impossible terms, which is inconceivable; and, if that was the first appointment of Srinivasachari, he could not be in debt for such a large sum as one lakh of pagodas which Vasudevachari his successor had agreed to pay for the current year's rent, and the outstanding dues, whatever they were. The current year's rent is set down at 47,000 pagodas, which would mean his predecessor was indebted to the extent of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, which would mean about a year and a half's rent due by him. It cannot therefore be that Srinivasachari was appointed for the first time by Krishnaji Pandit. He probably held the appointment, but was confirmed in the position by the Pandit in behalf of the conquerors, that is, Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Saheb and the French. The interesting point to settle now is when this arrangement could have been made, that of appointing an amaldar on agreement to pay a certain sum of money for the farming of the revenues of the temple at Tirupati? The possibilities are that these arrangements were come to on the formation of the Nawabship of Arcot under Sadat-ul-la-Khan about 1710. If that had been the arrangement then, it would have continued under his successor, Dost Ali, and very likely continued by Anwar-ud-din as well. The other alternative is that this appointment was made by Anwar-ud-din himself—for which assumption we have no very particular reason. We may however take it generally that Tirupati had been farmed out to the Amaldar separately to be administered on payment of a fixed revenue to the government for the time being under Muhammadan rule. It seems clear that if the revenue had been assessed by the East India Company at the figures given by Mr. Dodwell, these figures have reference to perhaps the original settlement when Tirupati was still in the possession of its landed property. The diarist notes in particular that the Pandit concerned had served the Nizam, his sons and grandson faithfully for a period of thirty years. His connection therefore with the appointment of Srinivasachari must be taken to be in behalf of the Nizam and his successors, not of the Nawab of Arcot, the more so as the persons concerned Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Saheb would give the indication that the higher authority of the Nizam prevailed on the occasion. The arrangement therefore by Krishnaji Pandit should be taken to be a confirmatory arrangement of the old practice, and, in the absence of direct evidence that the Nizam made a special case of Tirupati, we may hold that the arrangement was originally that made under the Nawabs of Arcot.

The next entry in the diary concerned with this is an entry of date September 17, 1751.¹ The entry runs as follows:—“Rajagopalan's elder brother is said to have come and reported that Vasudeva Achari would not allow Rajagopala Pandit (whom Madame² had sent as amaldar of Tirupati) to exercise authority, but had

¹ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Vol. VI, p. 62.

² Madame Duplex.

driven him out". It will be remembered that Vasudeva Achari was appointed by Krishnaji Pandit in behalf of Muzaffar Jang, as was said above. His supersession by the appointment of Rajagopala Pandit in 1751 must be regarded as in supersession of the previous appointment, as Vasudeva Achari's term of the appointment for a period of three years could not have been over. But perhaps authority over Tirupati had changed hands in the meanwhile.

A later entry in the diary dated October 9 of the year 1753¹ has the following: "I heard to-night that the English and Muhammad Ali Khan's army with the help of Matalavar had slain Muhammad Kamal, the *amaldar* of Tirupati, plundering his elephants, horses and goods and seizing Tirupati". When did Muhammad Kamal become Amaldar of Tirupati? Muhammad Kamal was a free lance, who broke loose from the army of Chanda Saheb when that army under his son Raja Saheb was defeated by Clive in the battle Kaveripak in 1751. Although the army as such was broken and dispersed, enterprising adventurers in the army like Muhammad Kamal, at the head of their own troops, roamed over the country, squatting upon such territory as they could take, and Muhammad Kamal was one such. He struck across towards Nellore and took over the territory lying round it. Tirupati therefore should have fallen into his hands in the course of these operations. He must have turned out Vasudeva Achari and put himself in his place. The diarist notes under the same date:—"One of these two men has brought the news of Muhammad Kamal's death to Madananda Pandit. If it be true, the French must be losing their power for, although Muhammad Kamal was not, in the Governor's pay and had received no help from him, he has been managing the country in the name of the French with 500 horse, 2,000 foot and Carnatic peons, 4 elephants, camels, bullocks, etc., ever since he left Nellore, and with the aid of the Matalavar, displaying his power in these parts like a tiger, filling his enemies with fear, capturing Tirupati, and maintaining the French affairs, there, and in Cuddapah and Kandanur up to the Kistna, and even in Masulipatam in the north-east, although here French power was waning. So if the news of his death is true, our authority there also will come to an end"². Under date October 11, 1753, the diarist notes—"Hasan-ud-din Khan's men last night brought the Governor news of the murder of Muhammad Kamal at Tirupati"³. These intrigues make it clear how Muhammad Kamal became Amaldar of Tirupati, as he is described by the diarist. He took possession of Nellore and the territory round about up to the frontiers of the Krishna including Masulipatam, and advancing towards Tirupati, capturing it with the assistance of the Matla people, who occupied the region at the foot of the hills on that side, took his stand in Tirupati itself. He was attacked there by the British and in the engagement, a chance shot killed the elephant on which he was mounted and conducting operations, and his death put an end to the resistance, and Tirupati fell into the hands of the English thereon. This dispute about Tirupati and the English interest in it was due to the fact that Tirupati and its revenues were granted to the English by Muhammad Ali for the services that they rendered to him during the war ending in the battle of Kaveripak; and by the grant therefore of the Nawab of Arcot, the English had a title to the revenues of Tirupati, which in those days were regarded as being more certain and steady than even

¹ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Volume VIII, pp. 421-22.

² Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Vol. VIII, pp. 422-23.

³ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary Vol. VIII, p. 423.

land revenue, and as such were eagerly sought by the French as well as the English not only, but by almost every adventurer that had the chance of taking possession of it, as in this particular case of Muhammad Kamal. There is an entry dated Friday October 24, 1755¹—"The Governor asked how much country he (Muhammad Ali) held. I replied "I have heard that 24 lakhs is the estimated revenue of the country. Out of this, the English have received a jaghir of 3 lakhs, besides Tirupati, Chingleput, Tirupachur, and other countries yielding nine lakhs. The rest remained in Muhammad Ali Khan's possessions; but the English have now taken the management of 8 lakhs more of the country, while the remaining 4 lakhs are to be reserved for the expenses of his household". This confirms the possession by the English of Tirupati. The French had not given up notions of securing Tirupati somehow, and after the supersession of Dupleix by the appointment of Godehu, an effort seems to have been made to secure the revenues of Tirupati by Madame Godehu. An entry in the diary dated Sunday 28th December 1755 notes:—"I know that, six months ago, a letter was written to Mysore saying that Madame had promised to give 18,000 rupees to Madananda Pandit in the Tirupati affair, and the Venkatanarayanappa Ayyan and Madananda Pandit received the sum which they shared equally". This is supposed to have been done, as there was a rumour that Dupleix was coming back, and the whole region was going to be handed over to him again. The amount paid here refers to the sum paid apparently for somehow securing possession of Tirupati, and its revenues through the good offices of the Mysore regency at the time. It is not noted what happened to this enterprise.

The next entry in connection with Tirupati in the diary is of date Monday August 19, 1757². That has reference to the transaction between Muhammad Ali, and the Mahratta official, Amirta Rao, and is set down in the following terms:—"I hear to-day that Amirta Rao (The Nana's gumastah) who was about to return from Madras to Arcot because he could not come to terms with the English, has been pacified by Muhammad Ali Khan with a promise of a mortgage on Tirupati for two lakhs of rupees, broadcloth for 30,000 pagodas, and a mortgage on villages in the Conjeeveram country for two lakhs of rupees". On this date it looks strange that Muhammad Ali should be promising a mortgage on Tirupati to a third party, as the revenues of Tirupati had already been assigned to the English in 1753 after the battle of Kaveripak, as has already been referred to above. The person concerned was an official of Peshwa Balaji Rao referred to here by the popular designation Nana. We are not told explicitly what he was trying to negotiate with the British, and why Muhammad Ali felt called upon to make this arrangement as a compromise. It makes one point clear, however, that it is the anxiety to be possessed of the revenues of Tirupati which the Mahrattas sought here as others did before and after. We hear of another attempt on behalf of the Peshwa by his agents Narayana Rao and Balakirshna Sastri, whose attempt to take possession of Tirupati was baulked by the Peshwa's agent Balvant Rao, who declined to assist them. There were subsequent attempts by the English, and by one or other of the adventurers, relatives of the Nawab of Arcot, on various pretexts, and all the while Tirupati remaining the object of attraction, because of its large and sure revenue. This attraction was too much

¹ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Volume IX, pp. 378-79.

² Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Volume IX, pp. 417-18.

³ Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Volume XI, p. 39.

to resist as Orme notes in his *History of Indushtan*; "the possession of Tirupati has been the object of every adventurer, who saw any chance of success; because its revenue, equal to £30,000 a year arising from the contributions of devotion, is always certain than that of any harvest in the Carnatic; and the acquisition was soon after attempted with more earnestness than the schemes of Abdul Wahab". This refers to an attempt made by two officers of distinction, Raghavachari and Balakrishna Sastri, who arrived with a commission from the Peshwa. It is worth noting here that Orme notes the annual income of Tirupati to be £ 30,000 a year and states definitely the sources to be the voluntary contributions of the pilgrims. So we may take it for certain that at the time to which the reference is made, people did not know that Tirupati had any other source of revenue than the contributions of the pilgrims.

There were a few subsequent efforts as well to gain possession of Tirupati in which the Mahrattas, the English and Muhammadan chiefs, belonging nominally to the administration of the Nawab of Arcot, took part and Tirupati had even to stand a siege or two in the course of these campaigns. Mention may be made here of two brothers of Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, Nazib-ud-daulah, and Abdul Wahab. The former had the government of Nellore under him after that affair of Muhammad Kamal, and tried to extend his authority into the region of Tirupati more than once. He was baulked in the effort on one occasion, and in revenge thereof took his position in a place called Salava near Narayanavaram, and made an effort to stop the pilgrims going to Tirupati to attend the principal festival of the year in September. The effort, however, proved to be ultimately abortive, and he had to give up. Subsequently another brother of Muhammad Ali, a half brother, who fell out with him and retired to his mother's estate in Chittoor in anger, gradually mastered possession of Chandragiri, and had quartered himself there when Nazibulla made his effort to take Tirupati, so as to prevent its falling into the hands of Abdul Wahab ultimately. In this effort he probably had the countenance of Muhammad Ali himself. Abdul Wahab at Chandragiri, perhaps finding the effort to take Tirupati too much for him as against the possibility of English interference, thought it prudent to invite Hyder Ali and brought about a war of invasion in the Carnatic. Having reached Chandragiri, Hyder Ali soon discovered the actual unreliable character of Abdul Wahab, and took Chandragiri from him sending away all the family of Abdul Wahab to Srirangapatam, excepting two beautiful daughters of his, whom he retained in his camp, and kept Abdul Wahab with him to keep him out of mischief. Being in Chandragiri, it would have been easy for Hyder to have taken possession of Tirupati; but the treatment that he accorded to the temple is in very pleasant contrast, to the efforts made by others, his contemporaries, among them, the English, the French, and the Muhammadans alike more or less. Wilks notes² his treatment of Tirupati in these terms; "Hyder's more than half Hindoo propensities had induced him to grant unqualified indemnity to the sacred temple of Tripety, only nine miles distant from Chandergherry, to the extent of not even interfering with the payment of a tribute to Mohammad Ali for similar indemnity". It must be noted here that in the operations at a somewhat later time, Sir Eyre Coote who was engaged in the region immediately surrounding Tirupati and Chandragiri had no correct information of the strength or value of either of these two places, as is noted by Wilks in the following terms:—"It is not a little remarkable, that

¹ Orme's *History of Indushtan*, Vol. II, p. 315.

² Wilks *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 499.

he (Sir Eyre Coote) seems to have been entirely uninformed regarding the locality or strength of Chandergherry, a fortress situated in the centre of those resources whose fragments had subsisted his army for nearly two months, and enabled him to relieve Vellore ; one cursory mention is made of the killedar of Chandergherry, as concurring with the aumil of Tripety, in counteracting his collection of supplies ; but without any indication of being aware that this killedar was Abdul Wahab Khan, Mohammed Ali's brother, or that the place was nearly impregnable, and calculated, if placed at his disposal, to have material influence over his future operations ". It would be clear from this that even the records of Fort St. George may not explain the position of Tirupati fully, even though they should be made accessible to the public. They are not so far in their entirety.

Naib Nazims of Dacca during the Company's administration.

(By Mr. S. C. Banerjee.)

Dacca was the seat of the Nizamat or Capital of Bengal for about a century from the time of Emperor Jehangir. After Suba Singh's insurrections in Burdwan in 1694 A. D. the Emperor Aurungzeb appointed his grandson Prince Azim-u-shan to be Nazim of Bengal and, with a view to increasing the revenue, bestowed the Diwani upon Murshid-Kuli Khan. This official disbanded the royal household cavalry and resumed the Jagirs assigned for their support. This and other measures of retrenchment were most distasteful to Prince Azim-u-shan who strongly objected to the control thus exercised over the State expenditure. He, therefore, organized a conspiracy with a view to making an end of the Diwan. The plot failed owing to the boldness of Murshid Kuli Khan who forced his way through the soldiers that had been engaged to murder him. Then he accused Prince Azim-u-shan of treachery and challenged him to single combat which the Prince declined. The Diwan sent an account of this incident to the Emperor and, considering himself no longer safe at Dacca, proceeded to Murshidabad where he took up his residence. In consequence of this affair Prince Azim-u-shan was ordered to remove to Behar at once. No one having been nominated his successor in Bengal he left the Government to his son Feroksher. Subsequently Murshid Kuli Khan was appointed Nazim by the Emperor Aurungzeb but he was not formally recognised till Feroksher finally left Bengal for the Imperial Throne in 1704. From this time Dacca ceased to be the seat of the Nizamat and the eastern districts were made over to a Naib or Deputy of the Nazim.

This Neabat or Government extended from the Garrow Hills on the north to the Sunderbans on the south and from the Tipperah hills on the east to Jessore on the west.

Jurisdiction of Dacca Neabat.

The city of Dacca was 14 miles in length and 7 miles in breadth and its boundaries were "Tangi¹ Jamalpur on the North, Buri Ganga river on the south, Dappa Fultala on the east and Miapur Seddi on the west".

Boundaries of Dacca city.

The Neabat of Dacca was considered the highest and most lucrative appointment under the Nizamat, consequently subsequent Naibs were generally near relations of the Nazims and as such they resided for the most part at Murshidabad, the Government of Dacca being administered by Deputies.

When the army of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah captured Calcutta in June 1756 from the East India Co. an order was sent to Nawab Aga Bakr Jessarut Khan, who was then Faujdar or Governor of Dacca, that the English Factory at that place should be seized and all the Company's servants thrown into prison. The English Company at Dacca at that time consisted of "Mr. Richard Beacher as Chief of the Factory, Mr. William Summer, Second in Council (who was in Calcutta at the time), Messrs. Luke Scrofton, Thomas Hyndman, Samuel Walter, John Cartier and John Jonhston.

Services rendered to the English Factory at Dacca during the time of Seraj-ud-dowlah.

¹ Board of Rev. Progs. 8 June 1787, No. 13.

Lieut. John Cudmore was in charge of the garrison and Nathaniel Wilson was the Company's Surgeon. There were three English ladies, *viz.*, Mrs. Beacher, wife of the Chief of the Factory with her child, Mrs. Warwick and Miss Harding. The garrison under Lieut. Cudmore consisted of only 4 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 19 European soldiers, 34 black Christians and 60 Buxerries (Portuguese half-castes)." When the news reached Dacca the English Council there, being conscious of their helpless position against the overwhelming forces of the Nawab determined to approach M. Courtin, Chief of the French Factory there, for help. The French proved true friends to their rivals in the hour of need and they being on good terms with Nawab Jessarut Khan M. Courtin induced him to refrain from taking any active measures against the English and at the same time obtained permission for them all to take refuge in the French Factory, M. Courtin himself standing security for them that they would remain peacefully there awaiting the orders of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah. Jessarut Khan allowed the English to escape at his own risk knowing full well that by this act he might incur the displeasure of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah; he, however, seized all the Company's property to the value of about Rs. 14,00,000 and refused to allow them to take anything of value with them except the clothes they were actually wearing.

The English were not unmindful of the services rendered to them by Nawab Jessarut Khan in their days of distress. When fortune turned in their favour after the battle of Plassy and the British power was established in Bengal "Nawab Jessarut Khan¹ obtained the office of Naib Nazim of Jehangirnagar (Dacca) during Jafar Ali Khan's administration through the influence of the Calcutta Government (British)". Though original resolutions regarding his appointment are not traceable, it appears from W. Hasting's Minute dated the 16th June 1778 that Nawab Jessarut Khan obtained the office "as² a grateful return for the humanity which he showed to the Factory at Dacca in the time of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah".

The duties attached to the office of the Naib Nazim as defined in the Sanad Duties of Naib Nazim. granted to the Nawab were as follows :—

"³To conduct generally the administration of the affairs of the districts placed under his jurisdiction, to chastise the turbulent and rebellious, to protect the weak and the Malgoozars, to administer justice to complaints according to Mahomedan Law, to prevent Ironsmiths from making match locks, to be cautious that no one should sell to ill disposed persons lead, powder or any implements of war, to exert himself in collecting the revenues of the mahals under his charge, and to pay regularly the public revenue into the Treasury according to the instalments, to disburse no part of the Public revenue without a sufficient warrant, to maintain the establishment of war and State boats, etc. (Nowarch) on an efficient footing, etc."

¹ Terrl. Dept. Progs. 12 Sept. 1822, No. 7.

² Revenue Dept. Progs. 16 June 1778, No. 2.

³ Terr. Dept. 12 Sept. 1822, No. 7.

Nawab Jessarut Khan was a noble man of irreproachable character and the people held him in high respect. It is stated in "Sair-ul-Mutakherin" that Nawab Miran repeatedly wrote to him to put to death Ghasity Begum and Amina Begum, two daughters of Nawab Aliverdi Khan, but he declined the odious task and replied that "a successor might be sent him in the Government of the Province and he wished to be excused from executing such orders".

On 3rd June 1778 Nawab Jessarut Khan represented to the Governor General in Council "As¹ I am now in a very advanced age, I am desirous of relinquishing all worldly concerns and of devoting the remainder of my days to the service of God in the performance of religious duties; but as this cannot be effected without a composed and settled mind, to your favour I look to place me in such a situation that I may with peace of mind devote myself to God. I, therefore, now make my last request"—"It is that my eldest son Sayid Mahomed Khan, who has been brought up and educated as a child of the Company who is prudent, possessed of talents for business and warmly attached to the Company and English Chiefs and earnestly desirous of being employed in their service, which by the blessing of God he will execute much better than I can having last year given a proof of it in his last year's skilful management of the Nizamat Business as my Naib, may be appointed to succeed me in the Nizamat of Jeehangirnagore with the same stipend and Kissala which I enjoy. That a sunud and Khelat may be granted to him by the Council for this office".

The Governor General W. Hastings remarked on the representation "Jessarut² Khan owes his present appointment to the influence of the Government of Calcutta as a grateful return for the humanity which he shewed to the factory at Dacca in the time of Nawab Seraj-ud-dowlah. He is now loaded with the infirmities of age and is unable to execute the duties of his office. He has ever borne an irreproachable character, is much respected by the people and his son has been favourably reported to me" and he proposed that a letter be written to the Nawab (with whom investiture then rested) requesting the grant of a sanad to the son of Jessarut Khan and the following letter was accordingly written to the Resident at the Durbar on 16th June 1778. "Jessarut³ Khan the Naib of Dacca having requested that he may be allowed to resign his office in favour of his son Sayid Mahomed Khan, we desire you to inform the Nawab thereof and to request that he will send us a Sunnud of investiture for Sayid Mahomed Khan whom we recommend to him for the succession to the office of Naib of Dacca". A sanad was accordingly granted Nawab Sayid Mohomed Khan Hushmat Jung 1778-1785. and Sayid Mahomed Khan succeeded Nawab Jessarut Khan in 1778.

Though it appears from the above that Sayid Mahomed Khan was the son of Nawab Jessarut Khan he was in fact not the son but a grandson as will be evident from the following extract from a letter dated 15th August 1822 from A. Sterling, Persian Secretary:—

"Jessarat⁴ Khan left a daughter, married to Mir Moortiza, who had offspring three male children, viz., Sayid Mahomed Khan Hushmut Jang, Sayid Ali Khan

¹ Revenue Department Proceedings 16 June 1778, No. 2.

² Revenue Department Proceedings, 16 June 1778, No. 3.

³ Revenue Department Proceedings, 16 June 1778, No. 4.

⁴ Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

Nusrat Jang and Shums-ood-Dowleh Zoolficar Jung. The same influence of the English Government procured from the Nazim of Bengal with whom the right of investiture then rested, the succession of the eldest grandson, Hushmut Jung”.

On 19th January 1779 it was reported¹ to the Governor General in Council that Date of Jessarut Khan's death. Nawab Jessarut Khan departed this life on Tuesday last. 19th January 1779 being Tuesday it is evident that the Nawab died on 12th January 1779. Mr. Bradley-Birt in his “Romance of an eastern Capital” stated “Jessarut Khan still ruled as Naib Nazim until his death in 1781. The year given by Mr. Bradley-Birt is therefore apparently wrong.

On the death of Sayid Mahomed Khan in 1785 without issue his second brother Nusrat Jung applied to succeed in a letter dated September 1785. The Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department was then asked to “report² upon the Original cause of the grant to the Nawab of Dacca and to prepare a Sanad in strict conformity to the old form for the continuance thereof to his second brother Sayid Ali Khan Nusrat Jung reciting the Original cause aforesaid but specifying that the grant is liable to the decision of the Court of Directors”.

The Preparer of Reports reported that “records³ both in the General and Secret Departments had been searched without having been able to trace the resolution for the appointment of Nawab Jessarut Khan to the Neabut of Dacca” but he referred to the remarks dated the 16th June 1778 of the Governor General (W. Hastings) when the Sanad was last granted in favour of Sayid Mahomed Khan who succeeded Jessarut Khan. He then delivered in a Sanad made out in strict conformity to the one last granted to Sayid Mahomed Khan. The Sanad which afterwards received the sanction of the Court of Directors ran as follows :—

Nawab Sayid Ali Khan
Nusrat Jung, 1785-1822.

Sanad granted to Nawab
Sayid Ali Khan Nusrat
Jung.

Translation of Dewanny Sunnud in favour of Sayid
Ali Khan for the Office of Naib Nazim of Dacca :—

“ To⁴ the Chowdries, Zemindars, Conoongoes, Rayots, Husbandmen, and all the Natives and Inhabitants of Chuckla Jehangeernaggur, in the Province of Bengal, Be it known,

In consideration of the claims of the late Jussarut Khan, who in former times assisted and befriended the Dependants of the Hon'ble the English Company; The Office of Naib Nazim of the aforesaid Chuckla has been granted in the room of Syed Mahummud Khan Hushmut Jung, Deceased, to the Noble and illustrious Syed Ally Khan Behadur, Nussrut Jung, Nussur-ul-Moolk, Intizam-u-Dowlah, that he may duly and properly discharge the business of the Nizamut of that place, and not the smallest particle of vigilance and circumspection neglected or undone.—He is to exert his utmost Endeavours for the punishment of the Seditious and Rebellious, for the protection of the subject and the Payer of Revenue for the Decision of all complaints according to the Books of the Law and for preventing the Manufacture

¹ Revenue Department Proceedings, 26 February 1779, No. 11.

² Revenue Department Proceedings, 20 March 1786, No. 29.

³ Revenue Department Proceedings, 10 March 1786, No. 29.

⁴ Revenue Department Proceedings, 10 March 1786, No. 30.

of firearms. He is strictly to prohibit the sale of Lead, powder, and other articles of war to such as are turbulent and seditious. He is to collect the Revenue of the lands under his superintendence and pay regularly what is due to Government according to the fixed Installments. He is to make no disbursement without a proper voucher. He is to keep the Ryotts Happy and satisfied, under his good Management, and so exert himself that lands capable of cultivation, shall not remain waste—but the Marks of improvement and cultivation increase, more and more, he is to refrain from exacting any of the Prohibited Abwabs or Taxes. He is at the stated times, as usual, to take the list, muster-roll and Register of the persons who compose his Ressala or company, and of the Boatmen and others attached to the *Bheattee Nowara* under his charge and conduct every part of the business as usual—and when any person dies or absconds He is to report the nomination to the vacancy to the Huzzoor.—

You are therefore to consider the abovenamed to be the established Naib Nazim of the above place, and the discharge of the duties and functions thereof as appertaining to him—you will not act contrary to his good counsel tending to the advantage of Government, and the ease of the Subject. His confirmation in this Office however you must know to depend on the receipt of orders from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors—Know this to be strictly and positively enjoined: Written on the 10th day of March of the English year 1786 corresponding with the 28th Phaagon of the Bengal year 1192 or 7th of Rubeeul awal of the 28th year of the Reign ”.

In connectoin with the introduction of the New Police Regulation in the city of Dacca in 1813 the then Acting Magistrate Mr. Elliott had a hitch with Nawab Nasrut Jung in consequence of which the Nawab complained¹ to Governor-General in Council against the conduct of the Magistrate. In explaining his conduct Mr. Elliott in his letter dated the 2nd January 1814 submitted “The² relations existing between His Highness the Nawab of Dacca and the Magistrate of that city do not seem to be precisely defined or clearly understood. I have considered myself in the light of a British Magistrate, presiding over the peace and safety of the city of which His Highness happened to be a distinguished inhabitant and not as the British Resident at the court of His Highness the Naeab of Dacca. I have consequently considered the preservation of the peace and protection of the lives and properties of the people committed to my care as infinitely of greater importance and as more immediately my duty than the gratification of the personal feelings of His Highness the Nawab whenever they might in my judgment appear incompatible with the attainment of those objects. But in the above inference I may perhaps have been mistaken and have therefore further to submit that the relations proper to be preserved between His Highness the Nawab and the Magistrate of the city of Dacca be clearly and distinctly defined to prevent all future altercations and to save all unnecessary waste of time and labour”.

Relative position of the Nawab of Dacca and the Magistrate of that city.

¹ Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 24 December 1813, No. 1.

² Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 15 January 1814, No. 7.

On the above submission the Governor-General in Council in their proceedings dated the 15th January 1814 observed as follows :—

“ It¹ would be a task of extreme difficulty to provide a priori for the different cases which may arise affecting the Magistrate’s authority on the one side and the dignity of the Nuwaub on the other.—From the nature of the relation in which the Nuwaub stands towards the Magistrate, the Governor-General in Council is sensible that, a more than ordinary share of prudence, temper and moderation is necessary on the part of the latter, in his intercourse with the Nuwaub. But with those qualities the Governor General in Council does not anticipate any material difficulties from the relative situation in which they stand towards each other.—All efficient power resides in the Magistrate, and not in the Nuwaub. All therefore which seems requisite is, that the former should exercise that power with all the moderation which the rules presented for his guidance will admit, and that it should be further tempered by those habitual attention and marks of respect to which the rank of the Nuwaub so fully entitles him. Following this course the Magistrate will always receive due support from the Government, which must of course be decisive in any difference of opinion, should any again occur, between the Nuwaub and the Magistrate.”

This correspondence shows that most of the executive functions of Nawab Nusrut Jung as defined in the sanad granted to him in 1786 for the office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca “ must have been nominal and quite inapplicable to the state of things existing at that time but it would be farcical to talk of an office having such duties annexed to it in 1813-14. ”

“ Nawab² Saiyid Ali Khan Nusrut Jung died on 21st July 1822 leaving only one daughter named Qudsia Begum who was married in 1820 to her cousin Kumer-ud-dowlah the only son of Shums-ud-dowlah who was the last survivor of the 3 grandsons of Jessarut Khan who then claimed to be recognized as head of the family and asked that honour and consequence of the family may be maintained”. The previous conduct of Shums-ud-dowlah had been very unsatisfactory. “ For the subversion of British Empire, he was engaged in a number and variety of projects extending from Behar to the Court of Zemaun Shah and even to Persia, including also a plan concerted with persons at Muscat for the introduction of a body of Arabs into our (British) Shums-ud-dowlah’s attempt for subversion of British Empire. the introduction of a body of Arabs into our (British) Provinces, inconsequence of which Arab Ships actually arrived in 1796 and 1797, at the Port of Calcutta, having on board armed men and Military Stores, the Commanders of which Ships had orders to obey such directions as they might receive from Shums-ud-Dowlah ”.

The plot was, however, discovered and Nawab Shams-ud-dowlah was tried³ by a Special Tribunal under Regulation 4 of 1799 consisting of Messrs. Williams, Augustus Brooke, John Bulehr and John White, Hamid Kahn was appointed to conduct the prosecution of part of Government and Muzzam Hussain and Seraj-uddin were appointed as Law Officers. The Special court was held at the Belvederes

¹ Judicial Criminal Proceedings 15 January 1814, No. 10.

² Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

³ Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 22 August 1799, No. 1.

⁴ Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 18 December 1800, No. 25,

"Shums-ud-dowlah⁴ was convicted of attempts to enter into league with the sovereign of other countries for the purpose of destroying the sovereignty of the Company, of endeavouring to connect himself with the Zemindars of the Behar with a design of exciting internal commotion and of keeping up a reasonable correspondence" and was sentenced by the Special Tribunal on 25th February 1800 to "undergo¹ imprisonment until the Governor General in Council shall be satisfied with the sincerity of his repentance". This was approved by the Governor General in Council on 18th December 1800. He was, however, "released² in 1803 by the Governor General (Lord Wellesley) and his Council on certain conditions and restrictions on the security of his brother Nawab Nusrut Jung, and on a reduced allowance, but in 1806 a full and free pardon was spontaneously granted to him by the Governor General in Council (Sir G. Barlow) and his stipend restored to the former amount of Sicca Rupees 1,000 P. Menssem". The remarks of the Court of Directors contained in their Political dispatch dated the 6th July 1808 on this Proceedings, were as follows :—

"Your secret Dispatch of the 6th September 1806, has advised us of the considerations which induced the late Governor-General in Council (Lord Wellesley) to release the Nabob Shums-oo-Dowlah from his confinement under certain conditions and restrictions, and of the subsequent determinations of Sir George Barlow and the Council to abrogate those conditions, and to restore Shums-oo-Dowlah to the enjoyment of his former privileges and allowances, founded partly on the conviction which was entertained of the good effects which would result to the British Government from this act of clemency, and partly on your sense of the correct and exemplary conduct of the Nabob since his return to Dacca. We are satisfied that Shums-oo-Dowlah would not have been liberated without our previous sanction agreeably to the directions in our Political dispatch of the 14th September 1803, had not the faith of the British Government been pledged for his release from confinement previous to the receipt thereof, in consequence of the pressing solicitations of his Brother Nusrut Jung, Nabob of Dacca. But when we consider the serious magnitude of the crimes of which Shums-ood-Dowlah was convicted and the number and variety of the projects in which he was engaged we cannot but feel some doubt concerning the wisdom and prudence of setting free a person of so dangerous a character. We are, however, persuaded that the measure was not adopted on your part without the most mature deliberation, and we therefore trust that the view which you have taken of the subject will be justified by events, recommending, however, and directing that your most anxious vigilance be exerted in watching over the future behaviour and proceedings of an Individual whose activity and capacity for intrigue has been formerly displayed in a manner so formidable to the British Interests in India."

In connection with the question of the succession of Nawab Shums-ud-dowlah to the Neabut of Dacca the following points were raised by the Persian

¹ Judicial Criminal Proceedings 18 December, 1800, No. 26.

² Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

³ Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

"*First*³.—Whether the Office of Naib Nazim at Dacca shall be any longer recognised and maintained.

Secretary on 15th August 1822 with his observations thereon :—

Second.—Who shall be admitted as head of the Dacca family.

Third.—What allowance shall be continued for their maintenance.

Fourth.—The subject of the Dacca Nizamut Pensions or Tunkhadars, and the charitable allowances or Rozinah.

Fifth.—The Jageers called Nowarah Mehal."

"It² is quite obvious that the Office of Naib Nazim in the Dacca Division of

Grounds for abolition of the Office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca. Bengal was purely Ministerial, like the corresponding situations in the Moorshedabad Division and in Behar, and can in no way be considered hereditary, or as having any of the attributes of property or sovereignty attaching to it (like the dignity of Nazim). Its duties are defined in the Sunnud granted to the Nuwwab Nusrat Jung (conformably to old forms). Most, if not all, of the said functions must have been nominal and quite inapplicable to the state of things existing even in 1785 ; but in present day it would be farcical to talk of an Office having such duties annexed. The Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah does not himself now apply for a Sunnud as his brother did in 1785 but merely asks generally that the honour and consequence of his family may be maintained. As there are no engagements in existence which bind Government to keep up the Office of Naib Nazim at Dacca ; as the corresponding Offices in Behar and on this side of Bengal have long since been abolished ; and as there is nothing in the circumstances of Shums-ood-Dowlah to give him any peculiar claim to indulgence, it will probably be though expedient to pass over and omit altogether the appointment of Naib Nazim."

"The personal allowance granted to the late Nuwwab Nusrat Jung was Sicca

Grounds for reduction of allowance of Nawab Shums-ud-dowlah. Rupees 6,000 P. Mensem. Those of the Nuwwab Shums-ood-Dowlah and his wife Budr-oon Nissa Begum are respectively Sicca Rupees, 1,000 and 500 Per Mensem, paid out of the Moorshidabad Nizamut Stipends. They are both entered in the list of the Zee Huq stipendiaries. The Begum is the daughter of the former Nuwwab Nazim, Mobarek-od-Dowlah. Nothing is known of the family expenses of the late Nusrat Jung, or of the mode of appropriating the allowance assigned to him. The most convenient and popular determination would to be recognize Shums-ood-Dowlah as head of the family, and to authorise the Collector to pay to his receipt whatever provision may be granted. Under this arrangement a deduction of Sicca Rupees 1,500 P. Mensem may be fairly made from the Sum of 6,000 Rupees P. Mensem assigned as a personal allowance for the late Nuwwab. The above arrangement would leave 4,500 to be drawn by Shums-ood-Dowlah on his own account from the Dacca Treasury, and the head of the Dacca family would still enjoy the old rate of allowance, whilst a saving of 1,500 P. Mensem accrues to Government."

"The Dacca Nizamut Pensions Amount to 2,901 per mensem, leaving out annas

Grounds for separation of Dacca Nizamut pension etc., from Nawab's control. and gundas, or Sicca Rupees 34,812 per annum. It was the apparent meaning of the orders of Government in 1802 to recognize them merely as life Pensions ; but in the

¹ Territorial Department Proceedings, 12 September 1822, No. 7.

face of these orders vacancies have been always filled up at the recommendation of the Nuwwab, who has in fact exercised the patronage of disposing of all such lapsed stipends to whomsoever he might consider fit objects of favour or charity. These pensioners seem originally to have been the Officers of the Dacca Nizamut establishment, or stipendiaries during pleasure, who were regularly entered in the Sebundee accounts of the Naib Nazim as a part of the public charge. * * * In consequence of the cessation of the nominal Deputy Nizamut Office, all controul and interference of the future Head of the Family in the payment of the above, or in recommending the appropriation of lapsed stipends should be interdicted."

"The same observation applies to the allowance of 7,110 Rupees per annum to Rozinadars, which seems to have been a purely charitable allowance, distributed at the discretion of the Nuwwab Nusrut Jung, and which was passed by Government at a fixed rate in the orders dated 26th August 1802 during the life of that personage."

"With the loss of the Office (of Naib Nazim) all right and title to possession of these (Nowarah) lands must cease on the part of the Dacca family and that Government will deem it expedient to resume them."

The Governor General in Council then passed the following order on 12th September 1822 regarding the points raised in connection with the succession of Nawab Shums-ud-dowlah :—

"His¹ Lordship in Council is pleased to recognise the Nuwwab Nawab Shams-ud-dowlah Zulficar Jung 1822-31. Shums-ood-Dowlah as the head of that family, and to authorise his drawing from the Collector's Treasury a monthly stipend of Sicca Rupees 4,500 for their support and his own, as also for that of any Dependents whom they may be under obligations to provide for. The Nuwwab will, besides, continue to receive the personal allowance of 1,000 Rs. per mensem for himself, and sicca Rupees 500, for his wife, from the Moorshidabad Nizamut."

"It does not appear to Government necessary or expedient to keep up and recognize any longer the nominal and, in reality, obsolete Office of Naib Nazim of Dacca but the same form of address will continue in respect of the Head of the House. towards the Head of the House."

"The Governor General in Council has further determined to separate completely from the Nuwwab's future control the payment of all classes of Nizamut Pensioners called Tunkha Dars and Rozinadars, at sicca Rupees 2,901-2-12, and 592-8-0 respectively, per mensem. They will in future receive payment on the footing of other Pensioners from the Collector's Office, and their claims will have to undergo a regular scrutiny before they can be admitted on the Registers. The subject also of the Nowarah Jageer lands will be taken into consideration, with a view to revision."

The obsolete office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca thus came to an end in 1822 and Shams-ud-dowlah was left with an empty title of Nawab with an allowance devoid of all powers and privileges.

Nawab Shams-ud-Dowlah died in November 1831 and his son Kamar-ud-dowlah succeeded him as Head of the family. Though the office of the Naib Nazim of Dacca ended with Nawab Nusrat Jung still the same form of address and the same allowances continued as had been hitherto in use towards the Head of the House.

Nawab Kamar-ud-dowlah and his wife Qudsia Begum, the daughter of Nawab Nusrat Jung, died in 1834. Qudsia Begum had no issue but the Nawab left a son very young in age, named Gaziuddin Mahomed, by Hyat-un-nissa Begum, who succeeded him as Head of the family. This young Nawab used to lead a very reckless life and his grand-mother Buddur-un-nissa Begum, wife of late Nawab Shams-ud-dowlah and daughter of Mobarrack-ud-dowlah late Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad wrote to the Governor General Lord William Bentinck on 30th January 1835 "I was informed that a great irregularity was observed in my family at Dacca and that the Stipend of S. Rs. 4,500 assigned to my Grandson Gazuddin Mahomud the present Nawab of Dacca, is misapplied, consequently the demands of those, who have just right thereto, are much in arrear—I therefore left Moorshidabad and arrived here (Dacca) on the 5th Ultimo. From the existing circumstances I conclude that the inordinate practice cannot be checked without the interference of public authorities. I therefore beg to solicit the favor of your Lordship's directing the Commissioner of Dacca to afford me such advice and assistance, as may be requisite to crush these evils."

In consequence of the above representation, to put a check on the young Nawab, Maulvi Abdul Alim was appointed Darogah, in consultation with Budder-un-nissa Begum, for the management of the Nawab's household affairs. But the Nawab wanted to dismiss him on the ground of his low birth, etc., while the then Commissioner of Dacca objected to it saying that the case is being referred to the Governor of Bengal for orders, but until a reply is received "I shall continue to consider Abdool Aleem as the Darogah of your Highness's household." In referring the case to the Governor in Council the Commissioner observed "I do not find that any specific instructions have ever been issued pointing out the sort of controul which the Commissioner of Dacca is entitled to exercise over the affairs of the Nuwaub, and the refractory spirit manifested by His Highness makes it necessary that my authority should be clearly defined, if under the circumstances of the case it be considered expedient to maintain any official connection between the state which pays the pension and the pensioner who receives it" on which the Governor in Council informed the Commissioner on 14th September 1835 as follows:—

³ "You were not authorised to retain Abdool Aleem in the capacity of Darogah of the Nawab's Household, after the Nawab has declared that he has dismissed him from his service."

This trifling incident is mentioned here to show what little power the Nawab of Dacca ultimately had and how he was restrained in exercising that power.

On the death⁴ of Nawab Gaziuddin Mohomed on 23rd August 1843 his mother

¹ Political Department Proceedings, 5 February 1835, No. 18.

² Political Department Proceedings, 14 September 1835, No. 7.

³ Political Department Proceedings, 14 September 1835, No. 8.

⁴ Political Department Proceedings, 30 October 1843, No. 7.

Hyat-un-nissa Begum represented that Amir-un-nissa Begum one of the wives of her deceased son had been left four months ago with child. The Revenue Commissioner of Dacca proceeded to the residence of the late Nawab and made an enquiry to ascertain whether there was any truth in the assertion made by the mother of the Nawab.

The Revenue Commissioner reported on 18th September 1843 on the basis of the depositions of persons examined by him in course of his enquiry, that "the late Nowab was never regularly married to any lady of his own rank or of really respectable family. His vicious tastes and habits led him to form connections of a character, which might be more easily dissolved, except in the case of Begum Ajan, to whom he had been bound under the ceremony of "Nikah". The persons examined, who were in constant attendance on the Nowab could not declare positively what was the nature of the connection subsisting between him and the several females, in the Mehal Serrai. They would appear however most properly to come under the designation of 'Mumtoooha' which means that they were connected with the Nowab, in virtue of a certain verbal agreement, which placed their persons at his disposal for a specified time".

Moreover, Amir-un-nissa Begum who was "said to be with child by him, had not even the honor of being included in his harem. She was a female slave in the household of Hyatunsessa Begum, the mother of the deceased Nowab". "From the depositions of the persons examined, the attempt to prove that some form of marriage or bond of legal union, had passed between the Nowab and Amir-un-nissa, fell completely to the ground; their statements being directly opposed to each other, and altogether disowned by those, who were honest enough to speak the truth." Though "the Nowab did occasionally visit his mother in her own lodgings, and it was possible, that Amir-un-nissa might have been got with child by him it was considered very far from being probable, because in the event of the Nowab's believing himself likely to become a father, he would have communicated his hopes to his most confidential servant, the Darogah Mir Ismail Khan, and would have taken measures for removing the mother of the expected child from the degrading position she was then occupying"; but the Nawab did nothing of the kind.

It was accordingly held² that the Nawab left no heir the pension enjoyed by him and the former Nawabs of Dacca reverted to Government. A small sum of Rs. 924-2-0 per month was however provided for the maintenance and support of the female connections and servants who depended on the late Nawab for their livelihood including other expenses as detailed below :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Allowances to dependents	859	10	6
6 men to guard Nawab Bari at 3	18	0	0
For preserving Nawab's tombs	16	8	0
For supervising payment of pensions, etc.	30	0	0
	924	2	6

The noble and illustrious family of the Naib Nazim Nawab Jassarut Khan of Dacca thus came to an end in 1843 on the death of Nawab Gaziuddin Mohomed

End of the Dacca Nizam family. without heirs. H. J. Reynolds in his History and Statistics of Dacca Division stated "In the year 1845 the title and dignity (of the Dacca Nawab family) became extinct on the death of the last incumbent without heirs." The year given by Mr. Reynolds is wrong.

¹ Political Department Proceedings, 30 October 1843, No. 8.

² Political Department Proceedings, 30 October 1843, No. 12.

Yusuf Khan's rebellion and the French attempt at recovery (1762-64).

(By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

I.

Yusuf Khan was a Hindu convert to Islam and a captain of the sepoy in the Company's service ; he subsequently rose to be the military governor of Madura and Tinnevely. He was generally known by the name of Khan Sahib Pillai or Khan Sahib Commandant and deemed to have been the ablest of the Indian soldiers who fought in the Carnatic wars. He had run away in his youth to Pondicherry where he served for some years under a European. Then he came to be under one, Mr. Brunton, who took great pains with his education and had him taught in several languages. Next, he entered the service of the Nawab and quickly rose to be a toll-collector and a Naik, then a havildar and finally a subhadar. He married a Eurasian woman and lived on terms of intimate association with the Europeans. Orme has fully dealt with his services to the English in the wars of 1752-58, in the siege of Madras 1758-59 and in the subsequent work of pacifying the Madura and Tinnevely countries which had been in a chronic condition of anarchy caused by the turbulence of the poligars and the misrule of the Nawab's representatives. It is a curious thing that the Khan who has been regarded as a hero quite as famous as Lawrence or Clive by such acute observers like Dom Peixoto, George Rous, Colonel William Fullarton and others, should have been totally denounced by Nawab Muhammad Ali Wallajah and his partisans, merely on the ground of his having been, naturally enough, faithful for some time to the English and held in esteem by the Madras Government. It was after the seige of Madras by Lally in the course of which the Khan greatly distinguished himself, particularly in Caillaud's engagement with the French near St. Thomas' Mount on February 9, 1759, and his subsequent charge of the Madura country, that the Khan came to be alienated from and openly hostile to the Nawab.

The Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly after Lally's siege of Madras was over ; and he now planned to complete his unfinished work of subjugating the Madura and Tinnevely countries of which he had been in charge from 1756, consequent on the failure of Mahfuz Khan, the elder brother of Nawab Muhammad Ali, to govern them effectively. He had also now approached the end of the triennium for which the charge of the districts had been got by the Madras Council from the Nawab. The Council had informed the Nawab that he was not entitled to any arrears of rent from these districts, as the cost of their administration had greatly exceeded the revenue realised from them. Yusuf Khan now proposed to rent them for four years, at five lakhs for the first year and six for the remaining three, and offered to maintain at his own charge the troops necessary for maintaining their internal security, stipulating, however, that he should be reimbursed for such expenses as might have to be incurred for their defence against external attack.* He now came to realise that the new officers of the English Government were coming to be influenced by the insinuations and charges of his enemies. He found one such officer, Brereton, making much of a change of route that he adopted in his return from Madras, which was different from that resolved upon at a consultation of the field officers prior to the march ; while the Madras Council in its Military Consultations of 3rd May,

*His letter of 28th February 1759.

1759, had to record their surprise at such conduct, adding however, that it was "the first instance" he had given of his disobedience of orders. He was the nominee of the Madras Council and ruling over territories that legally belonged to the Nawab and contrary to his wish. His governorship was naturally vigorous and he reduced all the turbulent poligars, without any exception, to obedience, though it proved very difficult task even for him to subdue Puli Tevar. Mon. Marchand, a gallant young Frenchman, who served under Yusuf Khan during his governorship of Madura, has given, in his '*Precis Historique*', details of the Khan's methods of administration and army organisation. Yusuf Khan had great difficulty for a time in reconciling Mahfuz Khan, the Nawab's rebellious brother, to his own authority. His tenure of the governorship, rather rentership as it should be technically termed, was contrary to the wishes of the Nawab; and even the Madras Council which was then quite favourable to him, did not care to grant it for more than one year at a time in the face of the expressed wishes of the Nawab. Pigot had to write to the Nawab on one occasion that Yusuf "is as good a man as Mr. Smith (Captain Joseph Smith), I will answer for it, and if he wants arms, they are to defend your country and add to your honour. If I can procure him any, he shall have them, and I will answer for his being a good servant to you."* On his own part, Yusuf Khan feared that when Pigot should leave for England, he would have no friends at all on whom he could rely for support; and he was naturally anxious to have his affairs settled in good time as otherwise he would be ruined. The Nawab had to give way to Pigot's persistence and to allow Yusuf Khan to continue in his post just for another year. Difficulties soon cropped up over the payment of the revenue which the Nawab desired should be sent directly to his representatives at Trichinopoly. He also complained that Yusuf Khan was building a fort south of the Natham Pass, which would block the direct southern road from Trichinopoly; but the Madras Military Consultations of 24th December 1760, apparently acquiesced in the Khan's measure, because of a report made to the Council that the pass was blocked owing to private quarrels between the local poligars; and it therefore condoned Yusuf Khan's proceeding as being only a necessary measure of precaution. Even before the fall of Pondicherry in January 1761, Yusuf, was allowed to entertain 30 French prisoners in his own service—an engagement which, Orme considered, was not likely to bring them into conflict with their own countrymen. As early as June 1761, Pigot had ordered Yusuf Khan to pay his rent direct to the Nawab and to hoist the flag of the latter, instead of that of the Company, on the forts of Madura and Palamcottah. In August, Pigot again wrote, this time to the Nawab, begging him to confirm Yusuf Khan in the rentership and asking Messrs. Bouchier and Du Pre, who were at the Nawab's court as deputies from his Council on this affair and pressed him to accept those terms. The Nawab however demanded a much higher rent than was offered. The Madras Council resolved on the 8th of October as follows: "With regard to the letting out of the Tinnevely and Madura countries Yusuf Khan hath ever

*Letter, written on Yusuf Khan's writing to him on hearing of his intended departure for England thus:—"I beg you, Honourable Sir, to settle my affairs in good time, for I am quite ruined and have no other friends at all." (I. O. Records, Home Miscellaneous, No. 103)—Lindsay's Narrative of transactions since 1759 between the Nawab of Arcot etc. See also I. O. Records, H. Misc. :—Extracts prepared by A. G. Cardow from the Madras Records relating to Yusuf Khan, from June 1759 to October 1764; and a Tamil ballad, entitled 'War of Khan Sahib' extracts from which were supplied to Mr. S. C. Hill by Mr. Rangaswami Naidu, and an abstract of which by J. V. S. Pope was brought out in 1911. These picture the Khan's relations with the English and the services that he rendered to them before his rebellion.

proved himself a faithful servant to the Company and has on frequent occasions manifested his attachment to their interest. Such a person the Board would wish to hold the management of these countries at least until the Nawab has somewhat reduced his debt to the Company. It is therefore agreed that he be recommended in the strongest terms to the Nawab as the properest person to be continued in Madura and Tinnevely, and at the same time to remind him that much is owing to the conduct and good management of Yusuf Khan in bringing these countries to the state they are now in. We do not mean that they should be let for less than their real value ; at the same time we think it necessary to desire the Nawab not to insist on such terms as Yusuf Khan must be obliged to reject."

The English Council finally recommended that the Nawab should give the rentership to Yusuf Khan for the current year although Tittarappa Mudali offered a higher sum. Pigot however insisted that Yusuf Khan should be prepared to receive English garrisons at Madura and at Palamcottah in order " to humour the Nawab and to show some attention to his repeated assertions of Yusuf Khan's intention to make himself independent." In January 1762, the Council definitely informed Yusuf Khan that the rents should be paid to the Nawab and not to the English officer commanding the garrison at Trichinopoly. It was from now that Yusuf Khan began his preparations for a positive rebellion though, for some months more, he kept his counsels to himself.

II.

It is possible that Mr. Robert Palk (Governor of Madras, November 1763—January 1767) to whom Sir John Malcolm ascribes the distinct change of attitude on the part of the Madras Council towards Yusuf Khan, was responsible for this sudden transformation of the Council in a manner that should have been very astonishing to the soldier. Palk, though he did not succeed to the Governorship actually, until the end of 1763, had been wielding great influence in the Council even in the last two years of Pigot's administration. He was believed to have exercised some mastery over Pigot who was very indolent and easy-going and was commonly reputed to dislike the dominance of the military element in the administration. It was said of him by Maudave that " he hates military men and has just succeeded in suppressing all the privileges and perquisites which used to be allowed them." Sir John Malcolm, in writing of the change in the English Council's attitude towards Yusuf Khan, says that " this gallant soldier, no doubt became a rebel to the prince he served, but he may be deemed in some respects the victim of those disputes for power which ran so high, at this period, between the English and the Nabob. Mr. Pigot according to Muhammad Ali, had forced Muhammad Esoof upon him as the manager of the countries of Madura and Tinnevely ; and by his support and countenance, encouraged him in acts of contumacy and disobedience. Educated the Vellore Subadar had been, and knowing that the real power was vested in the English, he appears to have looked exclusively to them, and to have paid little attention to one he considered as having no more than a nominal authority. But the departure for England of his friend, Mr. Pigot, and the succession of Mr. Palk, whose policy conceded to the Nabob the real dominion of his country, left Muhammad Esoof without hope ; and, in the desperate struggle he made for his life, the former faithful soldier of the English not only corresponded with their

enemies, the French, against whom he had so often and so gallantly fought, but declared himself the subject, and displayed in his fort and country the banners of that nation. This last act of his life has not deprived his memory of the honours that belong to it, as the bravest and ablest of all the native soldiers that ever served the English in India.”*

Suspicious of Yusuf's attitude were entertained by the English Council even when Pigot was in office. A Despatch of the Council, dated November 9, 1762, recorded that the troops which had recently arrived in a ship to Tellicherry and which were afraid of proceeding further by sea because of a French squadron sighted off Galle in Ceylon and were first asked to march overland, were now ordered not to do so on account of the suspicions entertained of Yusuf Khan's defection. By May 1763, *i.e.*, some months before Mr. Palk became Governor, it was well known at Madras that the suspicions entertained of Yusuf Khan's intended treachery and rebellion were all of them real, as he had then definitely thrown off his allegiance to the English and was endeavouring to achieve his independence. Every means had been tried before this to induce him to go to Madras in order to settle matters with the Nawab regarding his arrears, but in vain. The Madras Council was, however, unaware of his negotiations with Maudave ; but he was not sure of their ignorance. The Council had ordered stores and ammunitions to be collected at Trinichinopoly and the troops to proceed to that place. Yusuf Khan now hoisted French colours and openly declared himself to be their friend and ally. He plundered part of the Travancore country and forced its ruler to come to terms, though the latter had practically promised the Madras Council to assist them when the Company's troops should take the field.

III

The Chevalier Marchand, as he calls himself, had first served under the Chevalier Jacques Law in the disastrous campaign of Srirangam and then as the captain under Bussy, of his own body-guard of hussars, greatly distinguishing himself in several engagements. He later served during the siege operations of Lally round Madras ; and in the subsequent fighting he was captured by the English near Devikottai, but allowed to proceed to Negapatam on parole (1760). He ignored the parole on the ground of his having been taken in neutral country, entered the service of the Dutch and collected European recruits for them. From the Dutch Negapatam, he went over to the Danish Tranquebar as the Dutch Council turned him out on the representation of the Madras Council, but soon was turned out of the latter place also, on complaint that he induced the French in Dutch service to join him. He later joined the service of M. Hugel who had been captain of the Hussars in French service, but had joined Haidar Ali before the fall of Pondicherry. When M. Maudave who had served as a Colonel under Lally returned from Europe with a commission from the Council of Mauritius “ to represent France in India, to make an effort to resuscitate the French party among the Indian Princes and to give the English as much trouble as possible,” and got some little success with the Rajah of Tanjore who has already in his service, a small body of Frenchmen, Marchand offered his services to him and was appointed to take command of the troops there. Maudave started an extensive correspondence with Haidar Ali, the Nizam, the Portuguese at Goa and the Malabar chiefs. He was asked by the Rajah of Tanjore to open negotiations with Yusuf Khan whose feelings towards the Nawab was well known and whose friendship

* *Life of Lord Clive*, (1836) Vol. II, pp. 296-7.

with the English was waning. He sent first Mallet and then Flacourt to Madura; the treaty with Yusuf Khan was negotiated by Flacourt after Mallet had been despatched to Mysore with money from Yusuf Khan to extricate Hugel as Haidar Ali had become disgusted with the unfulfilled promises of the French adventurers. The date of the treaty with Yusuf Khan is given as July 1762. It is certain that, perhaps, Yusuf Khan obtained a promise of French assistance at that date; but Mr. S. C. Hill doubts whether he ever acknowledged allegiance to France then. Marchand arrived at Yusuf Khan's camp in January 1763; from his *Precis* we learn that Khan Sahib felt that he was not strong enough single-handed to oppose Muhammad Ali and the English. he tried therefore to draw the French to his side by convincing them that it was the sole method by which they could reestablish themselves in the Peninsula ”.

Yusuf Khan now asked Maudave, according to the version of Marchand, for the alliance and protection of the French. Marchand was “to sound this new ally, to study the secret plans which he might have in his mind, to watch over all his actions, to obtain money from him for the fresh reinforcements which we must only promise, in short to make use of him merely for the purpose of collecting in Madura our forces which were now scattered throughout India, of increasing their number at his expense, and of employing them thereafter as our interest might require, to the prejudice of all other interests whatsoever.”

Marchand became the second in command to Yusuf Khan who, he says, “announced his alliance with our nation, allowing me to lower the English flag and that of Muhammad Ali and even to burn them in the middle of the camp and to hoist the French flag there with all the pomp and solemnity proper to such an occasion.” Maudave asked Marchand to demand that the Khan Sahib should “do homage for the kingdom of Madura to the French, who would be its actual sovereigns and of whom he would be the viceroy, explaining to him that it was under this aegis only that he could be sheltered from the laws which Muhammad Ali and the English would not fail to deal him.” When Yusuf Khan heard this proposal mooted by Marchand, he flew into a rage and “poured forth a thousand imprecations upon me and all my nation ” and even had him shut up in prison for a time.

This discloses that the French adventurer, Maudave, had been planning an elaborate combination of forces hostile to English dominance. He intended to write to Mauritius for reinforcements and a fleet, induce Yusuf Khan to supply the necessary funds and to collect all the available Frenchmen scattered throughout South India in Madura. He wrote to the Mauritius Council that it would be enough if they were to send him 500 European troops. His idea was that all these Frenchmen should combine with Yusuf Khan's army and should march towards Trichinopoly so as to draw the whole of the English forces towards that place; while the fleet which was to be sent from Mauritius was to make a sudden dash on Madras, which he expected would be absolutely defenceless; and the rulers of Tanjore and Mysore would be at least passive spectators if not active helpers. The plan looked feasible and even realisable to some extent. Yusuf Khan's army was composed of the two strong garrisons stationed in Madura and Palamcottah, besides a flying or moving force and including the troops scattered about the country probably numbered about 10,000 sepoys, 2,000 Moor horsemen, 400 to 600 European troops including a small body of cavalymen, Topasses and Coffres and a small park of artillery. He could

also command an indefinite number of Kallar fighters as well as a full supply of labour numbering several thousands for pushing on his fortifications, while the country people were obviously in his favour, and even if he could not face the English troops effectively in the field, he could contrive to prolong operation and secure favourable terms in the end for himself.

Mr. Hill thinks that Yusuf Khan could have marched on Trichinopoly even if he had got only the Tanjore contingent of Maudave, but the latter was not prepared to take such a risk. Nawab Muhammad Ali sensed very early that Trichinopoly was in great danger of attack both from Yusuf Khan and from Haidar Ali ; but the Madras Council first advised him to come and stay in Madras itself and merely warned Preston, the commander at Trichinopoly, to be on the watch for the emissaries of Maudave whom they suspected of wishing to join Haidar Ali. Yusuf Khan knew that his friends at Madras were few in number ; and he was afraid of the Nawab's great influence which was exercised against him ; moreover he was dissuaded by the Tanjore ruler from adopting such an attitude. While Murtaza Ali, who had been recently deprived of Vellore and was being detained as a prisoner at Arcot, also wrote to the same effect, saying that the term of office of his friend, Mr. Pigot, was very nearly over and that he would do well to seek the protection of his successor Mr. Palk, who had abandoned the profession of Chaplain for that of governor and who, he insinuated, might be accessible to bribes. Of course Yusuf Khan knew how little his chances of reconciliation with the Madras Council had become and wrote to Mr. Pigot a long letter, in which he recounted his services, described his present difficulties, declared that the first moneys that he could get, would pay towards the arrears of his troops and very cleverly hinted at the possibility of his being unable to go to Madras owing to these difficulties and humbly begged to be excused in such a case, which, however, would be most disagreeable to himself. The letter was dated 20th of September 1762. The Council was already aware of Yusuf's rebellious plans. In January 1763, as we saw, he was joined by Marchand with the contingent from Tanjore. In the following month the Rajah of Travancore made an agreement with Yusuf Khan, promised an asylum to his wife and exchanged valuable presents, offering to send a body of troops with horse and ammunition into the Madura country, in case he was attacked by the English. The poor Rajah confessed that he had been compelled to make an agreement with Yusuf Khan and tired to convince the Madras Council that they could expect nothing from him, though the latter tried to persuade him to make a diversion by attacking Tinnevely. The Rajah of Tanjore maintained, in a letter of March 1763, that on the conclusion, in the previous year, of the treaty between himself and the Nawab he had disbanded some of his sepoys and having had as yet no suspicion of Yusuf Khan's intended treachery, he had allowed them to go to him, but would not send any more assistance to him. But he was not going to give any active assistance to the Nawab either. The French prisoners with the English at Trichinopoly, were not enlisted in the English army for fear that they might desert and join Yusuf Khan. Lawrence who had taken up the management of the operations from Trichinopoly, wrote in April 1763 that " by the daily reinforcements he receives from the French at Tranquebar and Negapatam and Haidar Naik's army, he should become too powerful for us to sundue, and like another Chanda Sahib lay the foundations of a ten years' war, which will not only immediately stop the Nawab's payments towards clearing his

debt, but entail again the whole burden of expense upon the Company." He concluded with this remarkable warning :—" I regard the Company's possessions on this Coast in more imminent danger than they have long been exposed to, and unless the Gentlemen at Bombay make a speedy effort to reinforce us I see not how the misfortunes we have to apprehend can be avoided."

IV.

The progress of the preparations for Yusuf Khan's rebellion was marked by the defection of the Maravars from his side and by the abandonment of the Natham Pass which controlled the approaches to Madura from the North. The two sieges of Madura which resulted have been well described by Mr. Hill and Mr. Nelson, the latter basing his account on memoirs furnished by Ponnuswami Thevan and another by a Muhammadan gentleman. The final fall of Madura is furnished in the *Journal* of the second siege of Madura, written by Colonel Charles Campbell and in Marchand's *Precis Historique* which is an elaborate apology for and justification of his own share in the rebellion. The first siege of Madura began on the 15th September 1763 and was raised after 52 days of open trenches on the night of 6-7 November 1763. The besiegers withdrew to their winter camp ; several fights followed in the open country in the next six months during which the English received reinforcements from Bombay and Bengal. The trenches were opened and the siege operations began again on the 1st May 1764. The English delivered an assault on the 26th June and Major Preston was mortally wounded in this assault. Then trickery was resorted to and the Khan Sahib's men began to be seduced. In the words of Marchand, " the English having failed to succeed by force resorted to craft".

Yusuf Khan was able to stand the blockade for several months and though he was willing to capitulate, he did not really expect any honourable treatment himself. Campbell's *Journal* contains a full account of the negotiations and of Yusuf Khan's letters to Madras. Marchand held that the adamant attitude of the Madras Council in demanding from Yusuf Khan a complete surrender at discretion should be ascribed wholly to the persuasions of Nawab Muhammad Ali, who averred that in money alone the rebellion has caused a crore of rupees and that so long as the Khan was safe, there would be disturbances in the country. It was feared that Yusuf Khan might secretly cut his way out, although a man of his nature would not care to do so. Marchand, who was insulted in public on one occasion by Yusuf Khan openly striking him with his riding whip, helped in fomenting a conspiracy among Yusuf's native officers, by which he was to be prevented from escaping and handed over to the Nawab. In this the chief leader was Srinivasa Rao, who was Yusuf's Diwan or chief adviser and who was later on deprived of his eye-sight by order of the victorious Nawab. On the 13th of October 1764, the conspirators headed by Srinivasa Rao and Baba Sahib and Marchand, forcibly captured the person of Yusuf Khan, bound him with his own turban, though he begged them to kill him rather than hand him over to the Nawab. Marchand now communicated with the English camp the fact of the Khan's imprisonment ; and his surrender to the Nawab was soon effected. The Nawab wrote that on the 15th of October " the rebel was hung at 5 o'clock in the evening on a large mango tree on the Dindigul road." His body was dismembered and exposed in parts in Tanjore, Palamcottah and Tinnevely, and his head, like that of Chanda Sahib, was sent to Trichinopoly.

Thus the miserable episode of Yusuf Khan's rebellion ended. The Nawab had been deemed to be the principal enemy of the Khan ; and Lawrence, the English

commander, was only an ally. When Lawrence issued a proclamation from Trichinopoly, dated 8th July, 1763, that the Europeans in the service of Yusuf Khan would be treated as rebels, Maudave pointed out that Frenchmen were not English subjects and that, whether the English and the French were at peace or war, such a declaration was unjustifiable. Lawrence had been given a free hand by the Madras Council and objected to Yusuf Khan being sent, if captured, to Madras; and he declared that he ought to be made over to the Nawab whose dominions he had usurped. The Council agreed, in its consultations on the 1st of August, 1763, that they thought he would be "a dangerous man to be entrusted in the hands of the Nawab, if his intentions are to make him a State prisoner; but if it be agreeable to you to order the commanding officer to execute him upon the first tree in the sight of the army, it will be quite satisfactory to us."

V.

On the 19th August 1763, news reached the Presidency of the signing of the definitive treaty of Paris on the 10th February preceding. Maudave represented to the Madras Council that "their preparations against Madura, appeared opposed to the spirit of the peace happily concluded in Europe and that I did not know whether the engagements which I had made with Muhammad Yusuf Khan had given the French Company rights compatible with the Treaty of Paris. . . . but it appeared to me safer and better to leave matters as they were until the arrival of those who were charged with the execution of that part of the treaty which concerned India." He further contended that he had no power to hand over Madura to the English, nor ask the French detachment to leave Madura, contrary to the wish of Yusuf Khan "as the least sign of any desire on their part to do so would have been the signal of a dreadful massacre"; and he pleaded, in his letter to the Duc de Choiseul (April 1764), that the "measures which I had for a long time concerted with the leading Powers of Southern India at a date when the then existing state of war between our nations made all such engagements legitimate for me, were now producing consequences which it was not in my power to arrest". He further pleaded though he made war on the English after the announcement of the peace, it was "only in the strict observance of a legitimate defence and after having exhausted all means of persuading them to make use of the path of gentleness and conciliation."

On their side the English argued that the treaty put an end to all engagements into which Maudave had entered with Yusuf Khan, and their preparations against the Fort of Madura were in no way opposed to the spirit of the treaty, and they were not bound to await the arrival of the commissaries of the two Crowns to reduce Yusuf Khan to his loyalty. Mr. Hill holds that had the Khan definitely become the ally of the French, before the date of the peace, he could not have been touched by the English and history would have shaped itself differently in Southern India.

VI.

A contemporary account hitherto unpublished by one Burhanu'd-din, of the history of the Wallajahi family, in tracing the history of Yusuf Khan, viewed of course in the prejudiced light of Nawab Muhammad Ali, thus gives pen-pictures of Yusuf Khan. Referring to his preparations for rebellion it says :—

"When Hazrat-i-Ala (Muhammad Ali) appointed him as his naib to administer the affairs of Madura and Tinnevely the Khan was regular for some time in sending

to the Nawab the collections of revenue and gradually began to show his bad nature. He allied himself with mischief-makers who formerly supported Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur, sought the support of Haydar Ali Khan, brought together five hundred French who ran away after the fall of Phulcheri (Pondicherry), got ready innumerable guns, gun-powder, flint-stone and cannon from Chennapattan (Madras), Sadurangapattan (Sadras), Nagpattan (Negapatam) and other ports that belonged to the Frang communities ; carried correspondence with the nazim of the Deccan by sending presents and gifts with a view to obtain from him titles and mansabs, established friendship with the zamindar of Maliwar (Travancore) by promising him five lakhs of rupees from the collection of the sarkar, made a pact with the two divisions of Kallars in the east and west of Madura ; thus he found himself a great sardar. He imagined that the kingdom was his own and forgot the past.

"He murdered the servants of the sarkar, oppressed the poor and the rich and tyrannised the zamindars. One day he shot down seven hundred men. Thus he squeezed the kingdom to a very great extent.

"As Hazrat-i-Ala was busy with the affairs of Nellore and Vellore and as he has a charitable disposition, he sent letters of advice and admonition to Muhammad Yusuf Khan, but these had no effect on him. On the contrary he got ready to oppose the Nawab. He strengthened the fort of Madura, with fresh fortifications, widened and deepened the ditch, filling it with water and crocodiles, broadened the maydan raising. The Nawab superintended the campaign from Trichinopoly where he bought grain at five seers a rupee selling it at twelve seers to the army which advanced in three divisions on the enemy.

"By the grace of God the three armies attacked with great vigour and were able to capture seventeen forts which lay on their way. They all met according to the order of Hazrat-i-Ala at the environs of Madura. Then one of these three armies marched to lay siege to Palamkuta (Palamcottah) while the other two attacked Muhammad Yusuf Khan and were able to defeat him in all engagements in spite of his huge army composed of horse, French forces and two lakhs of kallars. They subjugated in a period of one year all the towns that were situated at a distance of three kurohs from the fort and finally besieged the fort."—Naturally enough, the narrative is silent over the conspiracy that treacherously effected the capture of the Nawab in the end ; and it glosses over the hanging of the Khan, saying he was "put in a hook".

"Hazrat-i-Ala marched from Nattharnagar on the 29th of Dhul-Qada with an army composed of Indians and Frangs and reached Madura on the 5th of Dhul-Hajj. He distributed lakhs of rupees among the men of his army and presented them with elephants, horses, arms and jaghirs, and thus increased their zeal. On the 1st day he said his prayers, got on his horse and ordered the English to cannonade from the west. The walls and towers of the fort were pulled down in three days. Although the rebel was paralysed, yet he continued the fight. Many were killed. When the victorious army saw that the enemy was keeping himself inside the fort and not venturing out on the maydan, Major Preston advanced with a company of English soldiers, crossed the ditch and reached the fort. They attacked the enemy with such vigour that the face of success for the sarkar began to appear, but the army had to retire to their camp when the Major was wounded. In brief, the brave attack of the forces of the sarkar reduced the enemy to helplessness. The rebel was captured and put in a hook."

Tirumala Naik, the Portuguese and the Dutch.

[By Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. A.]

Of all the Naik rulers of Madura, Tirumala is the best remembered. The city of Madura, more particularly the celebrated temple of Minakshi and the Palace, are enduring monuments of the religious zeal and the practical efficiency of this great ruler. The chronicles are unanimous that he came to the throne in 1623, though a contemporary Jesuit letter states that Tirumala died in 1659 after a reign of thirty years, which would put his accession six years later than the chronicles. His kingdom comprised the extremity of the peninsula—roughly Salem and Trichinopoly and the country south of it.

My object is to study briefly the relations of this ruler with the European trading companies, especially the Portuguese and the Dutch—a subject not adequately treated in the otherwise excellent account of the reign of Tirumala Naik in Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar's *Nayaks of Madura*.^{*} During Tirumala's reign the Portuguese power in India was on the decline, and the Dutch were beginning to put forth strong efforts to drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon and the Madura Coast.

Tirumala himself was evidently a realist in politics. Sentiment had little influence on his actions and he was ever ready to follow the course that, in the given circumstances, seemed most convenient to him. His relations with the Karnataka empire to which he owed allegiance *de jure* and with the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golconda are not easily explained otherwise. His relations with the European companies were also regulated by the same rule of practical convenience or necessity.

The Dutch at first turned their attention primarily to Sumatra and Java in the early years of their enterprise in the East, and it was some years before they turned their attention to the Coromandel coast, and still later before they concentrated on Ceylon and the Madura coast. But from the first they treated the Portuguese as enemies and levied relentless war on them.[†] A close examination of the affairs of the Portuguese in India by one of their viceroys showed that in 1623 they were in a very bad state and in no condition to resist the growing aggressions of the Dutch.[‡]

Another Viceroy lamented in 1636 that the Indian 'trade had fallen into the hands of the Dutch' and that 'whereas India might have been the brightest jewel in the Portuguese crown, all her forts were in a state of decay.'[§] Two years later, in 1638, the Portuguese Viceroy in India wrote to his king in great detail about the very flourishing condition of the Dutch factories and trade in the Bay of Bengal, in the kingdoms of Golkonda, Bijapur and Vijayanagar, in the provinces of the Mughal empire, and in Persia, the straits of Mecca and many islands in the Eastern Seas.^{||}

^{*} *The Madras University Historical Series, II* (1924).

[†] Danvers: *Report*, page 21.

[‡] *Ibid*, page 27.

[§] *Ibid*, pages 39-40.

^{||} *Ibid*, page 42.

The Portuguese, however, did make one last effort to retrieve their position and sought to attack the Dutch factory at Pulikat in 1635 with the assistance of the 'Raja of Bisnagar'; two expeditions were led, but on both occasions the Raja did not cooperate,* and the Portuguese gained nothing. In fact so low had their fortunes fallen, that about the same time the Jesuits settled on the Madura coast at Tuticorin persuaded the Naik of Madura, obviously Tirumala, to seize one of the Portuguese agents who had been sent there to 'purchase saltpetre in exchange for elephants'; and though no details are forthcoming, we learn that the Portuguese sought to teach a lesson to the Jesuits and the Naik in between their two futile expeditions to Pulikat.†

A war broke out two years later between Tirumala Naik and his feudatory Dalavay Setupati of Ramnad. Unfortunately we seem to lack all direct means of obtaining a clear knowledge either of the occasion for the war‡ or of the exact part played in it by the two European powers. Nelson remarked that the Setupati is said to have 'procured the assistance of a number of Europeans who came from Ceylon and Cochin in five vessels. The only direct evidence of this fact, is a statement in a poem called *Ramappayya*, noticed by Mr. Taylor and by Prof. Wilson in his descriptive catalogue' §

The poem mentioned by Nelson is the ballad known under the name of *Ramappayyan Ammanai*, which is now being examined and edited by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Reader in Tamil in the University of Madras. The poem is anonymous, but apart from obvious exaggerations and other popular features, its evidence must be accepted as satisfactory, as it bears on the face of it all the marks of a more or less contemporary account. But the poem does not support Nelson's statement. The aid of Parangis (Portuguese) was invoked by Ramappayyan himself; || they were ready to give it, because they had a grievance against the Setupati for his obstructing the passage of their vessels in the Pamban channel, and Ramappayyan promised to give them the freedom of the channel as well as the entire island of Rameswaram in case they helped him to win the war. But the help of the Portuguese was not of great avail as they were defeated in more than one engagement by the general of the Setupati. There is no reason to think that the Dutch took any part in this war notwithstanding what has been stated to the contrary by Nelson and those who have followed him like Rea¶ and Satyanatha Aiyar. The Dutch records know nothing of it.

Danvers cites Portuguese sources and says that 'in consideration of the assistance sent to him when he wished to take Marava', the Naik of Madura 'undertook to give the king of Portugal a fortress in Pampa, called Uthear, or wherever he might desire one, also build at his own expense a church at Ramanacor (Ramnad), and seven churches between Bamban (Pamban) and Tomddy (Tondi). The Naik also gave permission to all those who might desire it to become Christians,

**Ibid*, pages 52-53.

† *Ibid*.

‡ Contrast Nelson, *Madura country*, page 128 with R. Satyanatha Aiyar, *Naiks of Madura*, page 122.

§ *Op. cit.*, page 120. Neither Taylor nor Wilson gives the fact noticed by Nelson.

|| *Ammanai*, 11. 1482-1567.

¶ *Monumental Remains of the Dutch*, page 8.

and promised to furnish gratuitously to the king of Portugal all the assistance he might require for Ceylon, both in men and supplies. He further undertook not to be friendly to the Dutch, nor to permit them in his territories, whilst his vessels would also not be permitted to visit Dutch port.*

But the Naik's friendship and support meant little for the Portuguese who are at the end of their resources, and whose 'trade with the South was now reduced to being carried on in rowing vessels, which could more easily escape the enemy's ships.'† In the course of a few years, Tirumala Naik realised that without the aid of the Dutch company, it was not possible to develop the maritime trade of his country. He saw what was happening in other parts of Southern India where the rulers of Goloconda and Karnataka, of Gingee, Malabar and Ceylon were offering attractive terms to the Dutch and encouraged their settlements and trade in the countries under their rule. In 1644 A. D., Arnold Heussen, the Dutch Governor of Pulikat was also planning in his turn to secure a settlement in the kingdom of Madura, for he expected to be able to get many articles of trade, including slaves, at better prices there than in the territory of Gingee. So when Tirumala Naik sent an embassy to him inviting the Dutch to come and start a factory in his country, an agreement was easily reached and its terms are set forth in a cowl granted by Tirumala in June 1645, received at Pulikat on the 10th July and preserved in a word for word Dutch translation.‡ The Dutch were to be free to build factories, house merchants, factors, writers, soldiers and servants, and buy and sell freely in all places in the territory of the Naik. They were to pay half the ordinary rates of toll on all incoming goods, and three-quarters on outgoing articles, subject to the understanding no toll should be paid on goods re-exported because they could not be sold. The officers of the Naik were not to molest or hinder the Dutch traders and their operations. No other European nation, Portuguese, English or Danes, shall be given any privileges in the Madura kingdom which would injure or obstruct those enjoyed by the Dutch. Trade for cash or by barter is allowed for all goods. The Dutch shall enjoy a preferential claim to all debts owing to them from the merchants of the country. No tolls shall be levied on gold, silver, precious stones, silk stuffs and other things meant for presentation. No rights shall be claimed to wreckages and all help will be rendered for salvage whenever necessary. In case of war against the other European nations, the Dutch shall be free to render assistance or not as they chose and to carry on their trade. The cowl was attested by the Naik with his own 'hand of sandal'.

As a result of this agreement, a Dutch factory was established at Kayalpatnam towards the end of 1645 by Arent van der Meijde. It flourished very well, and very soon the Dutch became so powerful on this coast that van der Meijde felt justified in interfering with and regulating the working of the pearl fisheries in the neighbourhood. This naturally brought on a collision with the Portuguese who had been settled for over 120 years in Tuticorin and claimed special rights both over the Christian population of the Paravar fishermen and over the Madura-Tinnevely coast. According to Dutch authorities, they not only captured a small vessel

* Report, pages 43-44.

† Danvers' Report, page 43.

‡ No. 170 Heeres: I, pages 455-57. It is dated Parthiva Jyestha, full moon day corresponding to 30th May 1645, according to *Indian Ephemeris of Swamikkannu Pillai*.

(toni) of the Dutch laden with merchandise, but successfully induced the Naik to issue orders that the Dutch should be driven out of Kayalpatnam with all marks of ignominy. This actually happened in June 1648 when the Dutch factors of Kayalpatnam just found it possible to escape with their lives to Galle in Ceylon. A punitive expedition to avenge this wrong became necessary, and the task was entrusted to John Maetsuycker, the Governor of Ceylon, who carried out the order in February 1649. He led a force of 436 Europeans and 170 or 180 Sinhalese in a fleet of ten ships which left Negombo on the 2nd and anchored before Manapaar on the 6th. Starting from there on the 8th the small squadron stopped at a place between Virampatnam and the temple of Tiruchendur, where there was a good landing place. The landing on the 9th was unopposed and the town of Tiruchendur was occupied the same day. The next day a part of the force went to Virampatnam and occupied the Roman Catholic church in the place from which the priest had fled. The invaders learnt there that all the persons in Kayalpatnam who had a share in the *anti-Dutch* demonstrations of the preceding year had sought refuge in flight. The people who stayed behind were not unfriendly, and it was not possible to wage war against them. The invaders took up their headquarters within the pagoda of Tiruchendur, which they fortified and armed with artillery, and made a demonstration of their power by marching along the entire coast. The people shuddered at the military occupation of the famous shrine, but all their protests went unheeded and the invader persisted in his unholy design. The Naik sent a message that reparation would be made for the damage of the preceding year, if the Dutch would relinquish the temple; this too produced no effect.

Tuticorin, the Portuguese centre on this coast, naturally attracted the particular attention of the invader who reached the place on the 12th February. The Portuguese captain had sent a letter to Maetsuycker telling him that the Paravas were under the special protection of the King of Portugal;* the Dutchman's answer was that he had come to avenge the wrong of the previous year and that he considered the Paravas as only the subjects of the Naik. But here again, most of the Portuguese and the Parava chief had fled, and the rest, who were quite friendly in their behaviour to the Dutch, threw the blame on the Captain and the others that had fled. Maetsuycker proclaimed that while he would not cause trouble to unarmed people, he expected to be paid a contribution of 40,000 reals in three days; the 'Moors' (Muslims) were excluded from this levy as they had always been friendly to Dutch commerce and had also been particularly helpful in this punitive expedition. The principal inhabitants of the place including the Catholic priests found themselves compelled to give a written undertaking accepting on behalf of the Naik of Madura the levy and the time limit for its payment under threat of a complete destruction of the churches and houses in Tuticorin. This agreement, originally drawn up in Portuguese, is available in a Dutch translation in Heeres' collection.† But by the 14th February, only 5,463 reals had been paid, and it was observed that the people were preparing for resistance by erecting barricades and arming themselves. The city was then given up to plunder for a day, but not much was got thereby. Hostility continued for some days, but nothing could induce the people to pay up, for in the absence of the chief men who

* Holland and Portugal were then at peace; but the Dutch did not allow this to interfere with the execution of their plans against the Portuguese. Danvers: *Report*, pages 44, 46-47.

† No. 185, Vol. I, pages 510-11.

had fled, they were not in a position to do so. Not all the threats and violence of the invader could alter the situation in the least, and news was received that the pagoda of Tiruchendur was being attacked, and the small guard the invaders had left there exposed to danger. Maetsuycker had to content himself with another paper agreement executed by the Captain of Tuticorin and others on the 18th February.* This document recalls the agreement of the 12th February with an innendo against the allegations made by the invader about the occurrences of the preceding year; it then recounts that it was not possible to raise so large an amount in so short a time in the absence of chief citizens of the place and that in consequence an extension of time to the end of May had been granted by the invader, and concludes with a promise to pay within the new time limit agreed upon; all hostilities to cease meanwhile on either side. All the same the houses of the Parava chiefs called Pattangatis were set on fire as a punishment to those who were believed to have been the cause of the trouble in Kayalpatnam in the previous year.

Meanwhile the Naik wrote to the Dutch governor and the people of the coast to make it up between them selves and not carry on war, and sent word to the former to go back Tiruchendur by boats to avoid any possible land attacks *en route*. He took the hint and caught hold of some boats lying in Tuticorin, promising to return them when the levy of 40,000 reals should be paid up, and sailed on the 20th to Tiruchendur which he reached the same evening.

On the 22nd the people of Kayalpatnam turned up and began negotiations in the name of the Naik of Madura for the restoration of the Tiruchendur temple. Maetsuycker replied by making a modest demand of 100,000 reals as costs and damages to be paid to him before he left the pagoda, and of a fresh contract restoring the old trading privileges in Madura country. The representatives of the Naik insisted on the pagoda being vacated first and pointed out the enormity of the offence to the sentiments of the people caused by their desecration of their great shrine, and wound up by offering to give compensation for the actual damage done to goods and merchandise last year together with a new trading factory. As no agreement could be reached, negotiations broke off, and the Dutch prepared for defence. But once more on the 23rd the Adigar of Tiruchendur resumed negotiations which produced no better results. Meantime the people had made large preparations for storming the temple. Reinforcements also began to arrive and a report reached the Dutch Governor from one of his outposts that four to five hundred men, 4 elephants and 50 or 60 horses had been assembled by the enemy.

There was an engagement on the 25th resulting in a loss of 30 men for the Madura army, the casualty in the Dutch forces being one dead and two wounded, all Sinhalese. As a result of it, the town was searched by the Dutch and all the powder they discovered was rendered useless; and many works of art were also destroyed or damaged. The people became so afraid that they dared not even remove their dead.

But the Dutch gained little by their small successes except the hatred of the local people. And Maetsuycker finding that he could not do much resolved on the 28th to leave for Negombo. He wrote to the Naik on the 1st March reminding him

**Ibid*, pages 512-13. The original was in Latin. -I follow Heeres' Dutch version.

that he had himself invited the Dutch some years before to come and trade in his country, and then, for no fault of theirs, done them great damage; he had occupied the pagoda of Tiruchendur for his security and would restore it intact the moment the Naik made reparation for the wrong. Having despatched the letter, he embarked taking with him the idoles of the temple, they included the chief stone icon in the garbhagriha also, as security for the amounts due to him from Madura.

There was some indecisive fighting after the departure of Maetsuycker. The Dutch must have left Tiruchendur soon after, but there seems to be no distinct record of this.

The War had cost the Dutch f.12,289; they got a booty of f. 23,093, thus recovering f. 10,804 of the losses at Kayalpatnam that were estimated at f. 28,000.

In January 1650 Maetsuycker made another attempt to collect 30,000 reals still unpaid of the contribution he had levied on Tuticorin; his men were asked about the images from Tiruchendur and were promised a restoration of their trading privileges if the images were restored; but of the payment of the balance of the levy, they heard not a word.

In February it was the turn of the Madura authorities to seek to recover the Tiruchendur images. On the 11th of that month Vadamalaiyappa, the lieutenant of Tirumala Naik in the Tinnevely district, wrote to the Adigar of Kayalpatnam, Narayana Mudaliar, instructing him to send four persons to Gale to get back the images which were still with the Dutch. The men were sent with a promise in the name of the Naik that when the images were restored, the Dutch would be compensated for the losses they had suffered. The Dutch governor wrote back saying that the images would be returned on payment of 100,000 reals.

This stalemate was ended by a letter dated 10th May 1650, to Batavia in which the Dutch Governor of Ceylon asked for instructions regarding the disposal of the images; the Batavian authorities answered that he might surrender 'the stone image with its dependents' to the Naik of Madura for what he could get for them and then get from him what advantages he could obtain for the company for building factories and carrying on trade. As a result of these orders, the images were sent to the governor of Ceylon to Kayalpatnam towards the end of January 1651.

Vadamalaiyappa, the officer of Tirumala in charge of the Tinnevely area, is well known in Tamil literature as the patron of several temples in the eastern part of the district, and there is a whole poem bearing the name Vadamalaivenba in which he is often referred to as Kavai-Vadamalai, from the place of his birth, Kavanur near Madura. There are inscriptions in Tiruchendur and elsewhere bearing witness to the liberal patronage of temples by this official, and the one at Tiruchendur dated 1653 may be taken to commemorate his renovation and re-consecration of the temple after the recovery of the images from the Dutch. It may be noted in passing that the author of the Tamil *Matsya Puranam* was the grandson of this official and was known as Irasai Vadamalaiyappa Pillai. Several writers have confused the two Vadamalaiyappas.

To resume the story of the relations between Tirumala Naik and the Dutch. After their unfortunate experiences in the Madura kingdom, the Dutch left it alone

for sometime, and concentrated on Ceylon. Within a few years, however, the celebrated Ryklof van Goens became governor of Ceylon and made a determined effort to put an end to the last vestiges of Portuguese power on the Madura coast and in the neighbouring seas. He captured Tuticorin at the end of January 1658 with almost no resistance from the Portuguese, and before he proceeded against Mannar and Jaffna where the Portuguese had concentrated their strength, he sought and gained the alliance of the Setupati Ranganatha Tevar. The alliance concluded on the 10th February 1658* included was directed particularly against the Portuguese stipulated for full mutual freedom for trade in one another's territories, and allotted seven *tonis* (small boats) to the Dutch in the pearl-fisheries just as the Portuguese used to have before. Before the end of June 1658 Van Goens succeeded in capturing Mannar, Kays and Jaffnapatnam.†

Partly as a result of their alliance with the Setupati, but more perhaps in consequence of the decisive successes they had won against the Portuguese, the Dutch found it easy to enter into negotiations once more with Tirumala Naik and his lieutenant Vadamalaiyappa Pillai, and there are two documents‡ which enable us to follow the course and results of these negotiations. After his first experiences Tirumala had naturally learnt to be careful with the Dutch, and was not over ready to grant their requests. The first of the two documents just mentioned is a letter from Vadamalaiyappa Pillai dated 18th March 1659 proposing terms to governor Adrian van der Meijden. The other contains the terms sanctioned by the Naik himself after further negotiations and is dated in the same month (Panguni of the Vilambi year in the Tamil calendar) as the preceding document. These terms deserve a somewhat detailed notice as they set forth both the demands of the Dutch and the actual sanctions accorded by the Naik. It opens by declaring the mutual desire of the parties for perpetual alliance and friendship and their willingness to treat the enemies of either of the parties as enemies of the other. Then the Dutch demand for permission to construct a fort is dealt with. The Naik pointed out that the Portuguese who were there for over a hundred years never wanted this; the Dutch answer was that it was not a fort, but only a small place of safety for themselves that they wanted; the Naik will not say yes to this at once, but will consider it on some future occasion. The Dutch will have the same jurisdiction over the Paravas, Pattangattis and Christians as the Portuguese had before, saving the Naik's rights to tribute from them. The Dutch still claimed the arrears of the old levy on Tuticorin and neighbouring places; the Naik says that all old claims and injuries should be forgotten and dropped on both sides. The Dutch wanted that no pearl or chank fishing on the coast was to be permitted without their consent; the Naik said that none was to engage in this occupation without the consent both of the Naik's agents and the company's officers. The Dutch wanted an exclusive monopoly of the trade in the Madura coast; the Naik pointed that that would lead to trouble with other European nations, but he would not give other nationalities permission to build lodges or factories in his territory. The Dutch were to enjoy freedom to trade in all articles including pepper. Their demand for their trade being toll free for three years was, however, turned down, and they were required to pay half-toll as before. The subjects of the Naik were

* Heeres-Stapel No. 223, (ii), pages 113-14.

† *Ibid* Nos. 224-6, give the terms on which the surrender of these places was made.

‡ Nos. 235 and 236 in Heeres-Stapel, (ii), pages 142-9.

not to narrete the coasts of Ceylon without the permission of the Dutch. The Dutch wanted that all merchants under their jurisdiction should be free from molestation and that they should get a lease of all the sea ports in the country; the first part of this request was granted, and the second naturally disallowed. The Dutch had demanded lastly that their servants should be free to carry on trade in the Madura country and that the Naik should claim no rights on ships accidently stranded or wrecked on his coasts; the Naik's answer to this demand was that the servants of the Dutch company would be free to carry on the Company's trade in his lands, and that rights over wrecked and stranded craft will be regulated by the rule of reciprocity.

Alexander Hamilton* gives the following estimate of Dutch policy in India: 'that honest Company has always had a Maxim, first to foment Quarrels between *Indian Kings and Princes*, and then piously pretend to be Mediators, or Arbitrators of their Differences, and always cast in something into the Scale of Justice to those whose Countries produce the best Commodities for the Company's Use, and lend the Assistance of their Arms to him who is so qualified by the Product above mentioned, and, at the Conclusion of the War, make the poor conquered Prince pay their Charges for assisting the Conqueror: and, when all is made up, and Treaties of Peace ready to be signed, then the Conqueror, their dear Ally and Friend, must suffer them to possess the best Sea-ports, and fortify the most proper and convenient Places of his Country. and must forbid all Nations Traffick but their dear *Dutch Friends*, under Pain of having the Company's Arms turned against them, in Conjunction with some other potent Enemy to the deluded Conqueror'. Tirumala Naik. who lived a generation earlier than Hamilton's time, evidently had the same opinion of the Dutch as the shrewd Scotch adventurer who spent many years in the East.

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*A New Account of the East Indies, I, page 186.

[illegible][illegible]

Afzalkhan's invasion affects Vishalgad Fort.

[By Professor Datto Vaman Potdar, B.A.]

About the campaign of Afzal Khan against Shivaji was have yet largely to depend upon Chronicles rather than upon contemporary letters, only a few having been so far discovered and published. In this paper I wish to place before this meeting the discovery of an original firman about the Afzalkhan-Shivaji struggle and discuss the same.

The firman in question was secured by me recently from one of the branches of my own family in the Konkan. I, there secured six Persian firmans, all Adilshahi. They are genuine originals and relate to the emoluments fixed upon some of my ancestors. Of these, five are issued through Mustafākhān; of these five, two refer to Rango Narayan, one of the ancestors of my family, as Navisinda Kothi of Fort Khilna, *i.e.*, Vishalgad. They are dated Suhur 1032 or A. H. 1041 (Zilkada 9) and Suhur 1034 or A.H. 1044 (9th Rabi-ul-Awwal).

The sixth firman, however, besides referring to Rango Narayan, Navisinda-e-Kothi, deals mainly with the invasion of Afzalkhan against Shivaji, which is twice spoken of in the firman as "Maslehat-e-Siwaji Bhosla". This is the firman I want to bring to your notice on this occasion.

Unfortunately the firman when secured by me was in a much damaged condition. I have now successfully repaired it myself so that we can gather the contents. The small rumāl in which these firmans were preserved seems to have been attacked by mice with the result that portions of some of these have been bitten away. The firman in question seems to have suffered most in the lot. Yet in spite of this destructive attack, the firmans have been well-preserved and enable us to gather the contents pretty fully. The five firmans are all issued to the Havaldars and Karkuns or officers of the Fort Khelna. The sixth firman unfortunately has the name of the fort bitten away completely. But this lacunæ can be conclusively supplied by us on the strength of the following considerations :—

- (1) The reference in the firman to Rango Narayan as Navisinda Kothi of the fort ("Qilā Majbur") of the firman.
- (2) The mention of Rango Narayan as Navisinda Kothi of Fort Khelna in two other firmans dated 1032 and 1034 Suhur san or A.H. 1041 and 1044, some thirty years before.
- (3) The very close, intimate and continuous connection of Rango Narayan and his family mainly with the Khelna Fort. Very rarely, if at all, is such connection to be traced in the documents of the family belonging to that early age, to any other fort.
- (4) The fact that the descendants of Rango Narayan, till very recently were in the enjoyment of emoluments from the Vishalgad or Khelna fort and hence bear the Sirname of Karkhannis and Sabnis as referring to the services rendered by them there.

- (5) The possession by the family of this firman along with the other firmans as a previous family legacy.
- (6) The fact that we possess another firman of the same year and month, *i.e.*, 1070 A.H. Safar and addressed in the name of the same two high officials namely Afzalkhan, called Sarhavaladar and Abdul Kadir Sarwarkhan Havaladar, which has been published as No. 44 on page 21 of the second or papers part of first volume of the History of the Sardesai family. (*Vide* Mavlankar Sardesai Gharānyāchāi Itihās by G. S. Sardesai (Baroda) and G. S. Sardesai (Kolhapur) 1926, Poona—Purvardha, Bhag I and II). This Sardesai firman refers to Muamila Muzafarabad, *i.e.*, Prabhanvalik, an important village at the very foot of Fort Khelna or Vishalgad.
- (7) The mention by some of the members of the family as Vishalgadkari, found by me in the Bahis of the family priest Katre at Benares.

The firman in question, thus, certainly refers to Fort Khelna.

The firman is dated Safar 1070 A. H. or Suhur San Sitteen wa Alf. The portion giving the day is lost in the bitten part. As we know that Afzalkhan was killed on 10th November 1659 A.D., *i.e.*, 5th Rabialawwal 1070 A.H. our present firman issued just the previous month, was one of the last orders of his life-time.

Now let us turn to the main contents of the firman.

At the very outset the firman refers to the Hashams of the Qila, appointed for the campaign against Shivaji Bhosla (—ke ahasham Qila Mazkur nāmzad ba maslehat Shivāji Bhosla Bāyad—).

In this connection the nayakwaris of the fort submitted a representation to the following effect :—

The Kadim Mayahetaj or the old allowance was reduced and a new one was fixed with the result that most of the Hashams or soldiers had consequently been scattered away and had left on account of the reduced pay while the small remnant continued in a miserable plight and sad at heart. (azin-sabab az kam dasti tankhah aksar ahsham mutafarriq wa parāganda shudā raft-and. Juzavi—na darand Be-hal wa Sargardan and.) They, therefore, request for a favourable reconsideration and suggest an alternative distribution of emoluments over ten villages, which granted, they undertake willingly to carry on the work of the campaign and the guarding of the walls. (Yakun dah mauza agar marhamat shavad alang nawbat qila wa bamaslehat amr farmudan himmat khahad shud). They then agree to pay three thousand lāris from the revenue of the three years, one this and the two succeeding.

Accordingly the firman grants the request of the Nayakavaris detailing the emoluments and rights, reserved and conferred. (baqi kul-bab ba ahasham wa baze nafran muqarrar wa marhamat namuda shuda).

The firman then details the new arrangements sanctioned in the eight old villages in Tappa Harchiri which seem to be related to the artillery workshop (Hasht mauza babat karkhana atishbazi) and the other two mauzas, making a total of ten mauzas. The proposed management about the payment of the tohfa (zar tohof) in three instalments is also sanctioned. The payment of one thousand lāris for one year, meant

for the expenses of the campaign against Shivaji have been received (Az-in-Jumla kishte zar-tohof Sanal mazkur yak hazar lari badle kharch maslehat Sivaji nazd Khan muaz-ileh rasida) as per letter of the Khan (i.e. Afzalkhan) (az ruye sarkhat khan musharun-ileh mujra shanasand). Further, the amount of pay of the scribe or navisinda Rango Narayan and the Nayakawari Haroji, grandson of Tukoji Yeshwantrao Nayakwari of the fort is also sanctioned.

The firman ends here in the usual way giving the date as Safar 1070 (Safar. . . . Khatam bil khair wal zafar sana 1070).

The firman thus reveals a very important and new fact about Afzalkhan's invasion against Shivaji Raja. We had no knowledge, not a single scrap of paper ever mentioning Vishalgad as being involved in this campaign. The scene and centre of the struggle lay far away to the north at Pratapgad and Wai which was an entirely different Subha, Partapgad lying 70 miles as the crow flies from Khelna or Vishalgad.

The firman enables us to conclude that the Adilshahi Government had made attempts either to strengthen their side of defences in the north and northwest or perhaps Afzalkhan was planning to hem Shivaji in from all sides. It must be remembered that this preparation was undertaken just a few days before the final disastrous end of the brave general.

Any way the firman gives us an entirely new and interesting fact about one of the most widely known incidents of Maratha history.

Presented to the 15th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Poona.

N.B.—I gratefully acknowledge the very valuable help rendered to me by my friend Prof. B. D. Verma of the Fergusson College and Munshi Abdul Aziz and Mr. G. H. Khare of the Bhosale Itihas Souchohanke Marasala in reading and translating the firman.

Author.

Kavindra Paramanand—Author of a sanskrit poem describing Shivaġi's life.

[By Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A.]

The sources of the life and career of Shivaġi are slowly getting enriched by important discoveries, the fruit of laborious reserach in Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Marathi, of which the Jedhe chronology in Marathi and the Anupurāna of Parāmananda in Sanskrit are by no means the least important. The discovery and publication of these last two reflect great credit on the persistent efforts of the Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala of Poona in bringing to light fresh materials which are scattered all over the country. I am going to narrate in this paper a few details of the author of this important Sanskrit poem, Kavindra Paramananda, with a view to enable students in Maharastra and outside to form a proper estimate of its historical value.

The manuscript of this poem was discovered about fifteen years ago in the famous Saraswati library of the Maratha rulers of Tanjore from which it was copied and published by Mr. S. M. Divekar in 1927 on behalf of the Poona Mandal. Another edition of the same was printed three years later by the Anandashram House of Poona. The latter has the following lines at the end of each chapter

इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवंशे निवासकर—कवीन्द्र—परमानन्द—विरचितायां
अष्टम्या शतसंदितायां...

meaning that the poem named Anupurāna describes in a hundred chapters the solar family (of Shivaġi) and is composed by Kavindra Paramananda of Newasa. It should be noted that the author does not himself style it Shivabhārata. He simply says, " I write the life of King Shiva like the old Bhārata of King Bharata ", प्रवक्ष्यामि... ...चरितं शिवराजस्य मरुतस्येव भारतं and calls it Anupurāna or a fresh Purāna, supplementing the existing Purānās. The name Shivabhārata was the title used by the copyist on the cover of the manuscript and has become current. Similarly as the words "शत साहस्र्या संदितायां" do not occur in the Anandashram edition, we may take it that the author meant to confine his work to a 100 chapters or about seven thousand verses (each verse containing 2 lines) and did not contemplate the ambitious project of expanding it to a hundred thousand verses thereby rivalling the old Mahābhārata.

It is, however, an unfortunate circumstance that the whole of Parmananda's original composition is not available, but only a portion of it, viz, the first 31 chapters and only 9 verses of the 32nd, or 2262 verses in all : the rest of the chapters seem to have been lost and we cannot ascertain whether the poet himself for some reason could not complete his undertaking or whether although the author completed it the copy before us from the Tanjore library is only a fragment of the original work. If the latter supposition be true, it is yet possible to trace some of the main lines of the poem.

The extant portion of 31 chapters or nearly one-third of the whole, brings the story of Shivaji's life to about the year 1661, where the poet describing Shivaji's conquest of South Konkan, is narrating the summer charms of the gardens of Shringar-pur, when Shaestakhan was occupying Shivaji's palace and capital of Poona and trying to curb his aggressive activities. It commences with the life of Shivaji's grandfather Maloji. It thus stands to reason that the remaining two thirds from 1662 to the death of Shivaji could be covered in about 69 more chapters, thus finishing the promised undertaking in one hundred chapters.

Although the poet's descriptions of places, situations and incidents of Shivaji's life and his long lists of individuals concerned with his exploits reveal his close personal touch and association with the great Maratha hero, there was for long no direct conclusive evidence to prove their contemporaneity or even acquaintance with each other. These have been now established in a recent discovery by Sir Jadunath Sarkar of several authentic Hindi letters describing Shivaji's visit to the Emperor at Agra in May 1666 and his flight in the following August from that captivity. Some of these letters contain entries with regard to Paramananda. They are :—

23rd December 1666, writes a subordinate to his superior in Rajputana :—

You say "Parmanand Kavishvar of Shivaji's service who had been detained at Dausa*, has been released. Now if he comes into your Pargana, he should be detained". In reply says the writer, "I had heard from the Amils of Pargana Dausa ; I sent four men : they went to the river of Chandangam and seized him. Men from the Pargana Udai also joined my men. They have seized Kavishvar Parmanand and taken him to Udai".

28th December 1666.

"Manohar Das and Nathuram write to me saying Kavindra Kavishvar Parmanand of Shivaji's train had been detained here. Later an order came from the Mirza Raja to release him. So I let him off. Next came an order, 'Guard him where he is'. I then made enquiries and learned that he had gone to Udai and was then to go to Benares. So that very day hearing this news I sent 4 horsemen and 15 footmen ; they overtook him at Chandangam (Pargana Hindaun) and brought him back on Wednesday, December 1626. He now says, 'I shall go to Delhi'. Now if your honour so advises, we shall send him to you, or if so ordered, he shall be sent to Delhi. If you order that he should be sent to Delhi, please also instruct as to how many horsemen or footmen should accompany him: Please expedite the business, for he is babbling a lot. He has got much baggage with him, 2 horses, 2 camels, one Sukhpal (Sedan chair) and 20 Kahars or footmen".

January 1667.

"An Application was sent to Kumar Ramsingh in respect of Kavindra Parmanand of Shivaji's train. Its contents were communicated to the Kumar and in reply he has issued a parvana which will reach you duly."

These are the only references to the poet's movements contained in the letters now coming to light. We do not know whether he was finally released and returned

* Dausa Railway Station, 40 miles east of Jaipur, on the Bandikui line.

to the Deccan and or whether the Emperor put him to death out of revenge for Shivaji's flight. The latter supposition may account for the abrupt and incomplete stoppage of his poem on Shivaji, as during 14 years of Shivaji's subsequent life, no mention occurs anywhere in the extant literature either of the poem or of its author. The main fact that is now established is that the poet belonged to Shivaji's train, that he proceeded towards Delhi perhaps either with Shivaji when he first started in March or later to effect his release when news came to the Deccan that Shivaji was closely confined. So all doubts about Paramanand's personal acquaintance with Shivaji are now finally dispelled, so that most of what he writes may be understood as authentic history, certainly making allowance for obvious poetic flourishes and flights of imagination, which are by no means few.

My first object in bringing this subject of the Shivabharata to the notice of scholars all over India is that we should make a studied joint effort for recovering the lost portions of this valuable epic on Shivaji, viz., the chapters 32 to 100. Paramananda like Jayaram Pindye, the author of Radha-Madhav Vilasa Champu and Parnāla

Parvatā Grahanākhyāna (राधामाधव—विलासचंपू आणि पर्णालपर्वत—प्रहलाख्यानम्)

are both pandits hailing from Maharashtra who migrated to the Karnatak, to Bangalore and Tanjore seeking patronage of Shivaji's father Shahji. It is now an established fact that Shivaji's mother and father had engaged Sanskrit Pandits as was then wont in all noble families to explain to them the Purānās, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, possibly Shukranīti and works of similar traditional learning. Some very valuable Sanskrit letters addressed by Sambhaji in 1682 to Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur have been traced by Sir Jadunath, in which Sambhaji offers his plan to depose Aurangzeb and place his son Akbar on the throne, who had then taken refuge with Sambhaji. In those days Persian or Sanskrit were the only languages in which persons of different nationalities in India could correspond. If Sambhaji had written the letters in Persian, they could have been easily detected by the imperial officials. Sanskrit in this respect was safe, as it was not commonly and easily understood. Anyway it is a definite conclusion that Sanskrit learning received great patronage from Shivaji and his ancestors. Both Jayaram and Paramananda reveal intimate acquaintance with South India and the discovery of the only copy of the latter's Shivabharata at Tanjore may be taken to indicate South India as the source of its inspiration.

It is necessary in this connection to remember that the famous Marathi inscription at the Brihadishvar temple of Tanjore, which narrates the history of the Bhosla family and the rulers of Tanjore, so closely follows the account given by Paramananda, that the writer of the inscription had doubtless before him this poem. There is also a Tamil translation of the same incomplete Sanskrit piece in the Tanjore library. The first half of Paramananda's Anupurana deals solely with the careers of Shahji and his father. So it can be easily gathered that Paramanand came to Shivaji's court in late life after having lived long with his father in the south.

All the chapters of Paramananda's work end with the following colophon :—

इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवंशे निवासकर—कवीन्द्र—परमानन्द—प्रकाशितायां
अध्याय—शतसंदितायां.... नाम.... अध्यायः

He has the following note about himself:—

पौराणिकानां प्रवरं भट्ट—गोविन्दनन्दनम्

कवीन्द्रं परमानन्दं परमानन्द—विग्रहम् and also

—प्रवक्ष्यामि....चरितं शिवराजस्य मरतस्येव भारतम्

“I am going to narrate,” says he, “the life of king Shivaji of the solar race on the model of the old Bharat of King Bharat, in one hundred chapters forming Anupuran or what may be termed a supplementary Puran. I have been a proficient Puranik, son of Bhatt Govind, a poet of high order named Paramānanda of very pleasing features”.

He also mentions that he undertakes this task at the behest of that Lord of Rajgad.

Recently some fragments of Sanskrit, Marathi and Hindi poems of a stray character have been discovered in the old records of the Rajopadhye family, once living in the South and now at Kolhapur. The Sanskrit pieces which have been published in the annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona* refer to Shivaji's son Sambhaji and have curiously enough the same colophon at the end of the chapters

as that of the Shiva-Bharata, viz. इति—कवीन्द्र प्रकाशिते अनुपुराणे सूर्यवंशे अध्यायः

This leads colour to the supposition that अनुपुराण was continued by the Kavindra to

the times of Sambhaji and therefore we may reasonably conclude that the chapters from 32 onwards were composed by the author and are now unaccountably lost. If a diligent search were to be made in the Deccan, at Tanjore, with the Rajopadhyes or family priests of the Bhosles, or at Newasa and other places, it is possible to recover the missing portions. If these portions can be obtained they will doubtless form the most reliable and authentic account of Shivaji's life, now that we know that they were both companions in their sufferings. Of course it is just possible that Paramānanda never came to be released from the Emperor's custody and met his final end there without regaining his liberty. In that case he never could have completed the

अनुपुराण beyond the present 32 chapters.

I will now proceed to mention some of Paramananda's descendants, in order to supply some clue for the recovery of the great work.

The Peshwa Daftar at Poona contains papers which give the names of Paramananda's two sons Shridhar and Devadatta and which have been printed in the Government selections from the Daftar. †These are grants by Sambhaji of Kolhapur (Shivaji's grandson) issued between the years 1716 and 1720 to Shridhar bin Paramanand and Devadatta bin Paramanand surnamed Kavindra “who have for long enjoyed royal patronage and who are men of great learning, piety and devotion to

*Vol. XVIII part III and Vol. XIX, Part I, 1937-1938.

†Selection Vol. 31—letters Nos. 117, 118 and 122.

the royal house, whose blessings have conduced to the prosperity of the Kingdom ". A few stray Sanskrit and Marathi verses of Devadatta have been published, which show that he was also a learned scholar. We know nothing of Shridhar. A list of Pandits of Shahu's Court in 1712 is printed at p. 228 of P. D. Selection 30, which contains the names of Shridhar and Devadatta Kavindra, the latter calling himself श्रीमत्परमं नन्दतनयः कविकुल—तिलक, a poet of high order son of the great Parmanand His Marathi poems described the valour of Tarabai, Queen of Rajaram.

Govind Kavindra, son of Devadatta and grandson of Paramānanda, has also to his credit a few pieces of composition in Marathi and Sanskrit, in honour of Sakwarbai, wife of king Shahu, and the Pratinidhi. These stray pieces are printed in the Sardesai commemoration volume. Thus Paramānanda's genealogy works out like this :—

Kavindra Paramananda, son of Govind Bhatt.



Paramānanda's sons obtained Tekoli and Perid villages in the Vishalgad state as Inam. Upon inquiry I am informed that none of their descendants are to be found in those villages at present.

A Sanskrit document recording the status of the Shenvi or Saraswat Brahmins has been printed in the B. I. S. Mandal annual for 1835 Shak. It is supposed to have been issued in May 1664 by a conference of several learned Pandits called together by Shivaji during his visit to Rajapur. The names of a score of renowned Pandits are recorded in the paper among which Gaga Bhatt and Kavindra Parmanand are mentioned. Orthodoxy on points of caste was then too rigid and refused to acknowledge Shivaji as a Kshatriya. In view of the same controversy raging furiously at the time of Shivaji's coronation, we may reasonably expect him to be preparing in advance for a favourable pronouncement on his own status from well-known pandits of recognized learning and authority; and Gaga Bhatt and Parmanand appear to have boldly entered into Shivaji's views ten years before his coronation and declared him to be of the solar race. The other pandits also, whose names are mentioned probably favoured the liberal interpretation of traditional rules of the Shashtras. Paramananda had lived in Benares along with many others for receiving education at that great University of Sanskrit lore. He could, therefore, speak the languages of the north fluently and had established contacts at several Rajput Courts. A versatile and devoted scholar like Paramananda was likely to be of immense help to Shivaji in his hazardous visit to the emperor: and so he formed one of his suite or as I suggested above, followed him to North India after hearing of Shivaji's arrest. Anyway historical accuracy requires us to view the account of the Anupuran in quite a different light from mere poetic fancy.

In our study of the life and achievements of Shivaji two sources of inspiration, as I have long maintained,* appear to have moulded his early ventures towards Swarajya, the one from the Yadavas of Devgiri from whom Shivaji's mother was descended and the other from the memories of old Vijayanagar where his father's destiny was mainly cast. It will be interesting to examine critically Paramananda's statements in the Anupuran in this new light : but as the limits of this paper have already been passed, I must reserve this survey for another occasion.

*Main Currents of Maratha History, Chapter 1 Section 2.

General Randullah Khan's Ikkeri Expedition.

[By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), D. Phil. (Giessen).]

Sources of information.

I propose in this paper to describe very briefly the hitherto little known Ikkeri expedition of the famous Bijapur General Randullah Khan. My account is based entirely on the description of the events given by three Kannada authors—Govinda Vaidya, Tirumalaryya, and Linganna. Of these the first two were writers who belonged to Mysore proper, while the last named author hailed from Ikkeri itself. Govinda Vaidya wrote his work in A. D. 1648. Tirumalaryya between A. D. 1684 and 1690, and Linganna between A. D. 1783 and 1799. Chronologically Linganna seems to be the least important, but it may be remembered that his is the only historical narrative written in Kannada prose dealing with the dynasty of the Ikkeri kings. I have elsewhere shown that Linganna is a thoroughly trustworthy writer of events in Ikkeri history.¹

Date of the war.

Linganna's account is important in the sense that he gives many details which could not have been accessible to the two Mysore authors mentioned above. Thus, for instance, in regard to the exact date of the invasion of Ikkeri by General Randullah Khan, we have no clue in the writings of Govinda Vaidya and Tirumalaryya. But Linganna informs us that the army of that Bijapur general attacked and captured the city of Ikkeri on Salivahana Saka 1560 Isvara samvatsara Pusya Bahula Dasami which corresponds to A. D. 1637 December Saturday the 30th.

Causes of the war.

As regards the causes of the war, Govinda Vaidya merely relates that as there arose enmity between the Ikkeri king (unnamed) and the nobleman of Kenga (called Hanuma) over the question of allegiance, the latter finding it impossible to fight with the former, sent a messenger with presents to the Bijapur Sultan (called merely the lord of Vijapur), and promising the latter further wealth, managed to bring General Randullah Khan with a Bijapur army with a view to annihilate the king of Ikkeri. Tirumalaryya confirms the above account but makes Hanuma the Basavapattana chief Kenge Hanumappa Nayaka, and the king of Bijapur, the Suritrana (Sultan) Muhammad Padshah of Vijayapura.

Linganna, however, has a different account to give concerning the causes of the war. While dealing with the reign of the Ikkeri king Virabhadra Nayaka, Linganna relates that that king ascended the throne on November the 5th Thursday A. D. 1629. King Virabhadra Nayaka's brother-in-law (*maiduna*) Sadasivayyaa made an abortive attempt to oust Virabhadra Nayaka from the throne, with the help of the chieftains of Sode (also called Sudhapura) and Bilige. But Sadasivayya died suddenly, and Virabhadra Nayaka conquered the principalities of Sode and Bilige. Upon this the two chiefs went to the Sultan of Bijapur, and with a view to

¹. See the writer's work *Kannada Sources for Maratha, Bijapur, and Mughal History* (to be published soon) where all the three authors mentioned in this paper are critically examined.

set up a son of Sadasivayya as a rival to Virabhadra Nayaka, and also to recover lost principalities, returned with a large Bijapur army and marched against Ikkeri.

When king Virabhadra Nayaka heard this, he despatched atonce his official *Rayasa* (Secretary) Sankaranarayanayya to the court of Bijapur, and through the Bijapur minister Murari Pant conveyed to the Sultan all the details concerning himself and his rival Sadasivayya. This mission proved successful, Virabhadra Nayaka was declared to be the rightful ruler of Ikkeri, but the principalities of Sode and Bilige were restored to their rulers, and costly presents were exchanged between the Ikkeri king and the Bijapur Sultan. Throughout all these proceedings the name of Randullah Khan is not mentioned by Linganna. What seems certain that the feud between the two chiefs of Sode and Bilige on the one hand, and the Ikkeri ruler on the other, seems to have given an occasion to the Bijapur Sultan not only to intervene in the affairs of these three Karnataka principalities, but also to cast his covetous eyes on Ikkeri which had already become famous for its riches in the estimate of both Indian and European rulers.

Soon another Karnataka chief gave the Sultan a pretext to invade Ikkeri. This was the "wicked" Venkatapati of Tarikere, who reported to the Sultan the feasibility of conquering atonce the great kingdom of Ikkeri. It cannot be made out for the present in what political relationship this chief of Tarikere stood to the Bijapur Sultan. We may not be wrong in assuming that Venkatapati was another chief who, like the chiefs of Sode and Bilige, refused to pay homage to Ikkeri. Whatever that may be, we know that the person through whom Venkatapati effected this treacherous action was Randullah Khan. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the Bijapur Sultan should have selected General Randullah Khan himself for the task of conquering Ikkeri and despatched him atonce with an army for the fulfilment of this object.

Course of the war.

Govinda Vaidya merely relates that on the Turukas assaulting the capital of Ikkeri, the king of that city became terrified and fled to the forest, and that the city was reduced by the enemy in no time. But Linganna asserts the following—That Virabhadra Nayaka withstood the attacks of Randullah Khan, for some time but failing in his attempts, retired along with this family to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. It was then that Randullah Khan, assisted by Kengeyya Hanumappa Nayaka, marched against the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. Linganna does not give the strength of the enemy on this occasion; but Tirumalaryya puts it down at these figures—40,000 Bijapur horse, 100,000 foot, and 40 elephants.

End of the war.

On Randullah Khan besieging the fortress of Bhuvanagiri, Linganna continues, king Virabhadra Nayaka, with the object of ultimately defeating the Bijapuris, took to diplomacy. He sued for peace, caused Randullah Khan to retire, and himself marched to Venupura (Bednore) which he reached in December A. D. 1638.

It was now the turn of Virabhadra Nayaka to punish his erstwhile feudatories—the chiefs of Tarikere and Basavapattana. He sent an ambassador to Bijapur named Ramakrshnappa with many costly presents to the Sultan, and sought his aid in crushing the two chiefs. The Sultan sent a second time a large army under General

Randullah Khan. King Virabhadra Nayaka met the Bijapur army near Harihara also with a large Ikkeri army. The Bednur army was led by General Sivappa Nayaka and Ramakrishnappa. The combined Ikkeri Bijapur forces besieged Tarikere and destroyed it. Next they attacked Basavapattana and captured it. In the battle of Basavapattana, the brothers of Kengeya Hanumappa Nayaka, who had sided with Randullah Khan in the latter's campaign against Ikkeri, were captured and sent to Bijapur. When Virabhadra Nayaka had thus crushed his rebel feudatories, he sent the combined Ikkeri-Bijapur forces against his greatest enemy Mysore. The Ikkeri Bijapur invasion of Bangalore-Mysore forms a very important chapter in the history of the inter-relations of the Karnataka, Maratha, and Bijapur kings. Both Govinda Vaidya and Tirumalaryya, unlike, Linganna introduce this invasion immediately after the capture of Ikkeri by Randullah Khan.

Photo copying : Its progress and equipment.

[By Mr. M. C. TRIVEDI, B.A. (Hons.), B.Sc.]

The idea of copying by photography written matter such as Manuscripts, Documents etc. was found appealing from the earliest days of photography, and especially so from the beginning of the present century. Compared to the laborious Method of Hand Copying, advantages inherent in photo copying are quite obvious. They are : A facsimile reproduction without any chance of error so common in any system of Hand Copying ; the rapidity of reproduction ; and freedom from the necessity to know the language of the Manuscript copied on the part of the Machine, i.e., the Camera unlike that in the case of the Man, i.e., the Scribe engaged in Hand Copying.

2. One should have therefore expected the progress of photo copying much more widespread and intensive than what we find it today after about half a century of the birth of the idea of photo copying. There were, however, obstacles in this direction which did not allow its use to be as extensive as its manifest advantages would seem to merit.

3. The main obstacle retarding the progress of photo copying was its cost ; and until lately, as shown hereafter, this had not been gone over. With all its obvious advantages, the photographic method of copying was a costly one almost prohibitively so compared to Hand Copying. The latter method required Paper, Ink and a Scribe ; the photographic method required costly Cameras, Plates and Pabers and Chemicals besides expert labour.

4. In the beginning the ordinary Plate Camera used for taking pictures was made use of for occasional casual work of copying. With the rapid growth of Industry and Business with the advent of the present century, Commercial Houses and Public Departments felt the necessity of a Facsimile duplication of their Cheques, Bills, Documents, etc. The Typewriter though satisfying the need of cheap and rapid duplication could not come up to the standard when *facsimile* duplications were required. The necessity for a photo copying Machine became increasingly evident.

5. The first of these Machines to be put on the Market was the Photostat. It was followed by Lucigraph, Rectigraph, etc., all more or less working on the same principle. The Photostat directly photographs through the aid of a Prism and Lens the original writings on a sheet of photographic paper. The result obtained is thus a Negative one, i.e., the photograph is in the form of white lettering on a black back ground unlike that in the subject copied ; it is in fact a paper Negative. If this is photographed again the result can be had in the form of a Positive, i.e., black lettering on a white background such as we find in the originals in the ordinary course. The Photostat does developing and fixing of prints inside the Machine itself.

6. The initial cost of installation of a Photostat comes to about Rs. 8,000 or so ; it weighs a good deal and is on that account not portable from place to place. The cost of taking a Negative Photo copy of the size $12" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$ may come to about a couple of Rupees.

7. On account of its high cost, the photostat has so far been the proud possession of a few well flourishing concerns or individuals who can afford to go in for it. It is unquestionably beyond the means of ordinary institutions, much less individual Scholars.

8. From time to time the idea of copying documents on cine film was attracting attention. It was realised that here was a Method in which it was possible not only to photograph in facsimile but also very cheaply and in small space. The principle was to photograph the original at a great reduction and then from the reduced image on the film to prepare an enlarged Print of any size desired. The whole cost of the intervening Negative—the costliest part of taking a photograph was thus aimed to be reduced to a minimum. But the technical difficulties involved in great reduction such as the fineness of grain of the emulsion, utmost critical definition and resolving power of a Lens suitable for this purpose, etc., did not allow much headway to be made to realise the desired goal.

9. One of the outstanding achievements of the present century in the domain of photography was the origin and development—now almost to perfection—of what is called Miniature photography. During the years just preceding the War, Mr. Oscar Brown in Germany conceived the idea of Miniature Camera, i.e., Camera which gave small photographs $1\frac{1}{2}" \times 1"$ on an ordinary Cinema Film. These small photographs were to be enlarged subsequently on paper to the size required. Before, however, the idea could be worked out in practice, the Great War broke out, and the commercial exploitation of this idea had temporarily to be suspended.

10. The first use of film for copying purposes was made in the Franco Prussian War of 1870 during the siege of Paris when messages were sent photographed on small rolls of Film tied to the necks of trained pigeons from the besieged city, and read at their place of destination by means of Projectors. These Miniature or Micro Photographs dating back to about 1870 were recently exhibited at an Exhibition of Photographic Reproduction of Documents held at the Science Museum, London.

11. During the post war period, the commercial exploitation of the Miniature Camera gradually developed. Foremost amongst these was the Leica manufactured by the well known Firm of Leitz. At first the cameras were manufactured for taking pictures only, but later its use in other directions such as that for copying was extended and various accessories came to be manufactured for copying work. The capacity of the camera was raised also in one of its models to that of 250 exposures at one loading, instead of the usual 36 exposures, to accommodate the needs of voluminous copying. This model is called "Leica 250" and was put on the market in 1935.

12. With the perfection of the Miniature Camera the main obstacle to photocopying—of cost—was removed ; and the idea received a great impetus. In America in particular, the advance in this direction is tremendous. The United States are using the Film Method in many of their Departments for permanent preservation of

Records.. The Census Bureau of the United States is engaged in making a complete Film Record of the U. S. Census of the year 1880. This comprises some 50 Million names and records. The Census authorities in the U. S. A. Department of the Interior are using the film method for the recording of Birth and Death Certificates for the whole country. The National Archives, Washington, are keeping their vast amount of Records on Film for which purpose they have set up a special Department of Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings. Libraries, Universities and Historical Societies all over have set up special staff and equipment for purposes of Copying on Film. Amongst these may be mentioned the University of Chicago Library, Harvard University Library, Minnesota Historical Society, the National Archives, New York Public Library, Yale University Library, Pennsylvania Historical Society, etc., etc.

13. With the rapid growth of Film Copying in America, Manufacturing Firms there took interest in devising special Cameras for the same. Chief amongst these are the Graflex Photo Record Camera put on the market by Folmer Graflex Corporation ; and the Recordak sold by Messrs. Kodak Ltd., Very efficient devices to read easily, on a highly magnified scale, the contents of the Miniature Negative are also manufactured and sold.

14. It may be of interest to mention that other countries are following suit, and rapidly the idea of Copying Records on Film is gaining now world wide recognition. For instance, it has been stated that the Oxford University Press has made arrangements whereby all Books going out of print shall be available on the Film. The University Library of Rochester New York is recording on Film the first 2,000 Books printed in the English language, most of them printed by Caxton between 1470 and 1550. The Scandinavian countries were, it is reported, quick to realise the obvious advantages of Microphotography ; among other Institutions there the Royal Library at Copenhagen and the University Library at Upsala have had Microphotographic installations. Sweden is also using the method in large number of her public departments.

15. The very considerable saving in space afforded by Micro Film copying has prompted many Newspapers in America to adopt this method for the preservation of their Daily Issues. The space required for storing Micro Films is, it is estimated only 2 p. c. of that required ordinarily. Recently " The New York Times " had about 90,000 pages of its Issues covering the years 1914—18 copied. It is reported that about forty American Newspapers are now regularly filing Film copies of their Daily Issues.

16. The Micro Film Method has effectively solved the problem of cost both initial and running for those who need copying to be done for their multifarious work. The Camera and all its accessories including those for Processing and Enlarging or Reading cost but only Rs. 1,500 (as against Rs. 8,000 or so for the Photostat) ; *vide* List of Equipment attached. Materials like Film and chemicals for as many as 250 Exposures cost but Rs. 3 to 4 only. Including labour and other overhead charges, it has been worked out that the whole cost of photo copying a side does not exceed one anna.

17. Due to its extreme cheapness, which, to say the least, is almost incredible great economy in space, and ease of manipulation, the Film Process is marked out as the photo copying method of the future. Old photographic methods such as the Photostat are receding rapidly into the background giving place to the film. The

position in this respect is aptly summed up in the following extract from the British Journal of Photography :—

“ While the use of the Photostat in large Mercantile houses, banks, and Government Departments for the production of facsimile copies has proceeded apace, it is not unlikely that the Microphotographic method will largely supplant it for all cases where records have to be kept for any length of time and preserved as legal or historical Documents. Already the United States Census authorities use Microphotography for the recording of Birth and Death Certificates for the whole country.”

A Note appearing in the Issue of November 1938 of “ American Photography ” is also illuminating in this respect :

“ During the past several years, the copying of various kinds of printed matter for permanent Record on 35 M.M. motion picture Film has been rapidly displacing in libraries and other Institutions the older system of photostating. The method is applicable to any kind or size of printed materials ; newspapers, magazine articles, even entire books. Its great advantage over the Photostat is economy both in money and storage space, for the material cost of copying one page is in the neighbourhood of two-tenths of a cent, and the bulk of the Film copy is usually less than five per cent. of the original. Also, extended recent investigations carried out at the National Bureau of Standards have shown that Safety Base (Acetate) Film is as permanent as high grade paper if stored under reasonably good conditions.”

18. The question of permanency of records photographed on the motion picture films has been investigated by the Bureau of Standards U. S. A. There are at present two kinds of motion Picture Films available on the market. The first is the ordinary Cinema Film which we see projected in Cinema Houses. Its base is Cellulose Nitrate which is a highly inflammable substance, and is known to suffer spontaneous disintegration under great fluctuations of Temperature and Humidity. It is in fact not very useful where permanence is desired. The other kind of Motion Picture Film is what is called the Acetate or “ Safety ” Base Film. It is made of Cellulose Acetate and is, therefore, not inflammable unlike the ordinary Nitrate Film, from which it derives its name as a “ Safety ” Base Film. It is stable and does not show any tendency to disintegrate. Recent extensive investigations carried out by the American Bureau of Standards have shown that its chemical stability is much greater than that of Papers of Maximum purity for permanent Records. It has been, therefore, recommended for use where Records are to be reproduced on Film for permanent purposes. The Films are to be stored in a cool atmosphere where there are no violent fluctuations of Temperature.

19. It may be interesting to mention in this connection that a third kind of Motion Picture Film on Metallic Base is now reported to have been put on market quite lately. It is the 35 M.M. Aluminium Base Film and is manufactured by the Fischer Film Corporation U. S. A. This Film is an improvement on the present day Celluloid Films in two respects ; one is that the photographic image can be taken on both sides of the Film, unlike that on the Celluloid Films

where the image is only on one side and the other side is clear Celluloid ; this will still reduce by half the storage space. The second is that the Metallic Base is considerably stronger and more lasting than the Celluloid one and requires no special conditions for storage.

20. One other advantage of Filming deserves to be mentioned. Copies from the Film Negative Roll can be made very cheaply and quickly with the aid of a very small Machine if required. This is a great facility when in Libraries more than one Scholar applies for the copy of a Manuscript at one and the same time. The Duplicating Machine required for this purpose costs but only Rs. 250.

21. At times for purposes of publication or circulation it is required in Libraries and Record Houses to print in *facsimile* original Manuscripts in *hundreds* of copies. This also is now rendered possible by such Machines as the Rotaprint. At present publication of such Manuscripts is mostly in the cast type forms ; advantage of their publication in *facsimile* gives them a decidedly original appearance.

22. A List of the complete Equipment necessary for Micro Film Copying is given in the Appendix attached. It is possible to split up the operations of Filming into two parts (i) Exposure and (ii) Processing. Manuscripts can be photographed on the Film at one centre, say a Record Office or a Library ; and the exposed Film can be sent to another place say a photographer's Studio for processing. In this case, it is not necessary for the Institution filming its Records to go in for the Processing outfit to be installed in its premises. This method has been tried in the case of Records of the Bombay Government which are photographed by the Government Photo Registry, Poona, and has been found to be successful. Records are photographed (exposed) in the Secretariat Record Office at Bombay, and Spools of Exposed Film are sent in the evening with a Messenger to Poona for processing the next morning. About a thousand sides are thus photographed and processed daily.

23. The space required for carrying on the work is very small. A room 15' x 12' is sufficient for the Exposure part ; and another 20' x 15' for the Processing if the latter is also intended to be done at the same place. In the other Room about half a Dozen water Taps and three or four Electric plug points will have to be fitted up. In the first Room only three or four points are necessary.

24. Summing up the present position with regard to photo copying it may be said this has now been gaining world wide recognition thanks to the perfection of the Micro Film Method in recent years. Older photographic methods which were costly and cumbersome are fast giving place to the Film Method, which has been marked out as the scientific copying method of the future free from the errors of human copying, and available at a comparatively very cheap cost. Its use for Libraries, Record Offices, Research Institutes, Historical Societies, in fact, everywhere where facsimile copying is a necessity is assured ; and it is hoped it will find its due place in Indian Institutions as well.

M. C. TRIVEDI,

Manager,

Govt. Photo Registry Office and Photographic Expert to Govt.,

Poona,

APPENDIX.

List of Equipment for Micro Film Copying.

Serial No.	Description.	Approximate Price.
		Rs.
1	Lieca Camera Model 250 with Elmar Lens 5 cms. F/3.5 and two Spool Chambers	650 0 0
2	Extra Spool Chambers No. 3 Rs. 21 each	63 0 0
3	Copying Stand to take originals upto 24"×18"	75 0 0
4	Supplementary Lens No. 1	15 0 0
5	Mechanical Rewinder	15 0 0
6	Template for Leica 250	4 0 0
7	Reflector Lights with Flex and Stands	75 0 0
8	Processing Equipment to process 50 ft. of Film at a time ..	200 0 0
9	Combined Enlarging Projecting and Reading Desk complete with Elmar Lens F 3.5 cms. F/3.5	350 0 0
10	Sundries	50 0 0
	Total ..	1,497 0 0

M. C. TRIVEDI,

*Manager,**Govt. Photo Registry Office and Photographic Expert to Govt.,**Poona, 6th December, 1938.**Poona.*

An indigenous history of Bengal.

[By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D.]

In 1810, Mrityunjay Śarmā, Professor, Fort William College, and Chief Pandit of the Supreme Court, wrote a treatise on the History of India. The book is called *Rājataranga* in its colophon, but was reprinted in B. S. 1312 (= 1905 A. D.) under the title *Rājāvali* by the Bangabāsī Press. It is of little historical value, for apart from legends and miracles, with which it abounds, the accounts it gives of kings and dynasties of the Hindu period are either unknown or opposed to sober history. The author does not indicate the sources of his information, but recently I have come across a Sanskrit manuscript in the Dacca University collection which bears such a striking resemblance to the historical portion of the book that there can be hardly any doubt, that either this or some similar text must have formed the basis on which Mrityunjay Sarma (and probably also Abul Fazl for his account of the Sena kings given in *Ain-i-Akbari*) must have principally relied. This Manuscript is also styled *Rājāvali*. It is hardly necessary to point out that this Sanskrit *Rājāvali* like its Bengali version, hardly possesses any historical value, but its importance lies in the fact that it fairly indicates the amount of knowledge, or shall I say ignorance, of the Bengalis regarding their past history before the archæological researches, introduced by the Europeans in the nineteenth century, succeeded in unravelling, to a certain extent, the antiquities of India. Such a book also serves to emphasise the fact, equally surprising and regrettable that there was almost a complete break in the historical tradition soon after the Hindus lost their independence in Bengal. I am not aware of the existence of any other historical text of this kind and therefore make no apology in giving a short account of this unique manuscript.

The Manuscript originally contained six leaves, each $17\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size, of which the first one was written on only one side and the rest on both the sides. The second leaf is, however, missing and the present manuscript, written on 9 pages contains fiftyfive lines of writing. It was presented to the Dacca University by Babu Krishnadās Ācharya Chaudhury of Mymensingh and bears No. 577A in the Manuscript catalogue of the Dacca University Library.

It begins with a reference to the Pāṇḍu empire which came to an end in the year 1812 of Kaliyuga. Then flourished Mahāpadma Nanda and the Śūdra kings of his dynasty who ruled for 500 years. It then mentions a powerful king Viravāhu who was vicious and an atheist. After his family ruled as suzerain (*sārvabhauma*) for 400 years king Dhurandhara became the emperor. At this time Ādiśūra became King in Bengal (*vaṅgādīdese*). As he was the first ruler in the Ambastha family, and endowed with valour and heroism, he was called Ādiśūra. He, the king of Rāḍha and other countries, established his chief capital (*rājadhānī pradhānā*) in Rāmapalli, in Vikramapurānagara to the west of the Lauhitya. He had *panca-pravara* and Maudgalya *gotra*, was proficient in Vedas, and performed sacrifices. He was ruler of Rāḍha, Gauḍa, Varendra, and Vaṅga, and, for some time, of Utkala. Then follows the well-known story of the arrival of the five Brāhmanas from Kanauj with five Śūdra attendants. Ādiśūra ruled for sixty-two (or 63) (*aksartu*) years. After him ruled his son Yāminibhānu, his son Anurudra, his son Pratāparudra

and his son Bhūdatta — for a total period of 318 years. Dhurandhara's family also came to an end about this time. Then the mountainerer (*pārvaṭ ya*) Śakāditya became the suzerain for 14 years. Then Vikramāditya and his son became kings for 93 years. Then Samudrapāla and his descendants ruled for 641 years. Then came Tilakacandra's family, who ruled for 140 years (*khabdhibhesvara*). After them Hariprema's family ruled for 45 years. The following kings of Rāḍha, etc., descended from Ādisūra were tributaries to them. Bhūdatta's son Raghu-deva, his son Giridhāri his son Prithvidahara, his son Śṛṣṭidhara, his son Prabhākara, his son Jayadhara, his daughter's son Bhūpāla (son of Devapāla) of Śaktri-*gotra*, and with three Pravaras, his son Śūrapāla, his son Dhanapati, his son Makaranda, his son Jayapāla, his son Rājapāla, his younger brother Bhojapāla, and his son Jagatpāla. These ruled Rāḍha for 610 years. Then followed Jagatpāla's daughter's son, Dhīsenā (with five pravaras and of Dhanbantari gotra).

When Dhīsenā became king of Rāḍha, Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Varendra, Mahāpremavairagi, of the family of Hariprema, was the suzerain. Having learnt that Hariprema had retired to the forest, Dhīsenā secured possession of the throne of Hariprema, and as he gained the empire without contest he became known as Vijayasena. Having himself become the Lord of Delhi, he made his eldest son Śuka Sena, ruler of Rāḍha, etc. Śukasena ruled for 3 years and was succeeded by his younger brother Ballālasena. Thus Vijayasena was lord of Delhi and his son became Maṇḍalesvara.

Ballālā classified the descendants of Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādisūra, into Rāḍhī and Vārendra, according to the villages where they settled. Those among them who had good *ācāra* were called Kulīna. The Brāhmaṇas, who lived in Vaṅga and other countries prior to Ādisūra's time, seven hundred in number, were called Saptasatī. The Śūdras were divided into four classes, North Rāḍha, South Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Varendra, according to their settlements. Those among them who were proteges of Brāhmaṇas (*viprāsritā*) were called Kulins.

Vallālasena ruled for 12 years. Then his son Lakṣmaṇasena became ruler of Delhi, and made his younger brother Kesava, ruler of Rāḍha, etc. Lakṣmaṇasena outcasted the Ambaṣṭhas of Delhi, etc., who had deviated from orthodox practice, and classified the rest, who had settled in Rāḍha, etc., and had not partaken of the food prepared by Padminī, as Siddha, Susiddha, Satsiddha, Visiddha, Prasiddha, and Samsiddha, each succeeding class of the Siddha families being better than the preceding one. The last three of them were *Kulins* while the first three were *kulaṇas*. Another classification was Sādhyā, Atisādhyā, Mahāsādhyā and Kaṣṭhasādhyā, each being lower than the preceding one, and called by his respective Gotra name. Lakṣmaṇasena ruled as suzerain for ten years, and his successors ruled as suzerain in Delhi and subordinate ruler (Maṇḍaleśvara) in Rāḍha, etc., as shown in the following table.

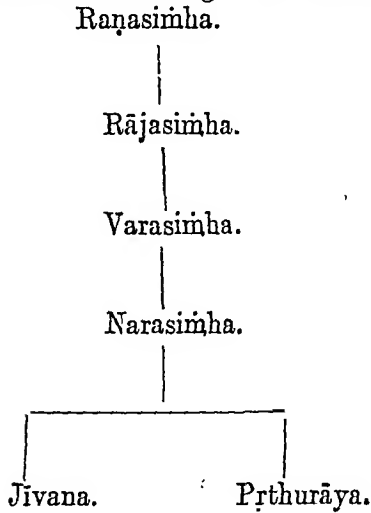
Suzerains of Delhi.

Rulers of Rāḍha, etc.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Keśava—16 years. | 1. Mādhava (son of Keśava). |
| 2. Mādhava (son of 1) — 11 years | 2. Sadāsena (younger brother of Mādhava). |
| 3. Śūrasena (son of 2) — 8 years. | |

4. Bhīmasena (son of 3).
5. Kārtika (son of 4).
6. Harisena (son of 5).
7. Satrugna (son of 6).
8. Nārāyaṇasena (son of 7).

The suzerains of Delhi (Nos. 4-8) ruled for 33 years. Then Nārāyaṇa's son Lakṣmaṇa II became ruler of Delhi while his son Jayasena became ruler of Gauda. Lakṣmaṇa died after a rule of 36 years, and his son Dāmodara ruled for 11 years. He was dethroned on account of intrigue with other's wives, and the Chauhan Dvīpasimha became king. His successors were as follows :—



These ruled in Delhi for 150 years.

Then Yavana Shahabuddin became ruler of Delhi after killing Prthu. Then the Yavanas ruled for six hundred years, there being 52 rulers of seven families. Shahabuddin went to his own country Ghazni, leaving Kutbuddin as his Deputy in Delhi. In Gauda Jayasena ruled for 16 years. Then Ugrasena became ruler in Rāḍha, etc. His son Virasena, his son Padmalocana, and his son Tejasena ruled for 151 years (Candra-vāṇābja). After Teja had ruled for five years Kutbuddin attacked him. Teja went out to fight with him, leaving his family in the city and took a domesticated pigeon with him. He defeated Kutbuddin, but by chance the pigeon got out of the case and flew to the capital. His relations thought that the king must have been killed in the fight, and burnt themselves in order to escape dishonour in the hands of the Yavanas. Tejasena came back to the city too late, and in sorrow burnt himself to death. Kutbuddin, on hearing this, captured the capital and ascended the throne. Seventeen yavana rulers subordinate to him ruled in Rāḍha, etc. Then the Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and specially the Ambasthas left Gauda and settled in various lands. Some went to Delhi and some to Srihaṭṭa, while others lived in disguise in Rāḍha. Thus for 159 years the Ambasthas (and others ?) were in disgrace. Then gradually some of them received honours from the kings. Here ends Rājāvali.

The accession of Nazm-ud-Dowla¹ to the throne of Bengal and the position of the East India Company.

[By Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M. A.]

Ever since its victory at Plassey, the East India Company had virtually become the Nawab-maker in Bengal. The events that followed the death of Meer Jaffier (Mir Ja'far) on the 5th² of February, 1765, perhaps best illustrate this, and, at the same time, indicate the position of the Nawab of Bengal *vis-a-vis* the East India Company in the sixties of the 18th century. The object of this paper³ is to narrate some of these events.

First of all, we find from the Proceedings⁴ of the Council at Fort William in its Secret Department, dated 4th February, 1765, that a letter had been received from the Company's Resident at the Durbar, "dated the 29th January confirming his private advice to the President, of the Nabob's being dangerously ill : and that he has, therefore, given his Eldest⁵ son the Nabob Najim-o-Dowla (Najm-ud-Doula) a Kelat⁶ to act in his Room which is the same as declaring him his successor in case of an accident to himself". And in a letter dated at Muxadabad (Moorshedabad) 5th February, 1765, the Resident at the Durbar (Mr. Samuel Middleton) informed

1. Also spelt as Najmu-d-daulah.

2. This is the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier (Mir Ja'far). Curiously enough, the *Third Report of the Select Committee (House of Commons) on the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company*, dated 8th April, 1773, has stated : "That at the Death of Myr Jaffier, which happened in the Month of January in the year 1765, etc." This information is wrong. James Mill is also wrong when he says (*The History of British India*, 4th Edition, H. H. Wilson, 1848, Vol. III, p. 356) that Meer Jaffier died in January 1765. Nor are Malcolm (*The Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, Vol. II, 1836, p. 291), Sir George Forrest (*The Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, 1918, p. 250) and Sir Denison Ross (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 377, footnote) correct when they say that the Nawab Meer Jaffier died on February 6, 1765. There are two documents—one, a letter, dated at Muxadabad (Moorshedabad) 5th February, 1765, addressed by Mr. Samuel Middleton, Resident at the Durbar, to the President and Council at Fort William, and the other, the translation of a letter which the President, Mr. John Spencer, had himself received on 7th February, 1765, from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla—both embodied in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Council in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on Friday, 8th February, 1765, which establish beyond all doubts that the Nawab Meer Jaffier died at Moorshedabad on Tuesday, the 5th of February, 1765, "about Noon" according to Mr. Middleton, and "about quarter past one, afternoon" according to Nazm-ud-Dowla. *E. g.*, Mr. Middleton wrote from Moorshedabad on 5th February, 1765 :— "It is with much concern I am now to inform you that he (i.e., Meer Jaffier) departed Life this day about Noon". And this 5th of February (1765) was Tuesday.—See the Proceedings of the Council in its Secret Department, Fort William, Friday, 8th February, 1765.

We find that Mr. William Bolts has given the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier : He has said,— "Meer Jaffier did not continue long in his new station, having died on the 5th February 1765".—See William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 43.

We are also glad to note here that Peter Auber in his book entitled *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, 1837 Vol. I, p. 98, Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee, in his article entitled "*The Mother of the Company*" published in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXXII, and the author (presumably Prof. H. H. Dodwell) of Part III of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 1934, edited by Prof. H. H. Dodwel, have given the correct date of the death of Meer Jaffier.

³. This paper is based mainly upon manuscript records, in most cases hitherto unpublished, to the Imperial Record Office of the Government of India. The proper names have generally been spelt here as in original documents.

⁴. See Consultation, Secret, Fort William, Monday, 4th February, 1765.

⁵. Among the surviving sons.

⁶. A dress of honour.

the Council⁷ that the Nabob had died on that day "about Noon".⁸ "A little time before (noon)", he further wrote in his letter, "Maharaug Nund Comar came to me and told me the Nabob seemed near expiring. But that he was sensible and very desirous of seeing me in order particularly to recommend his son Najim-o-Dowla to our favour. The Maharaug returned to the Kella and soon after send (sic) me word that the old Nabob was Dead, and that the Nabob Najim-o-Dowla desired me immediately to go to him to be present when he was seated upon the Musnad, I accordingly went and after seeing the Ceremony of his Inauguration performed I presented him with a Nuzur of Congratulation on his accession to the Subadarry".

The Nawab, continued the Resident, "immediately after he was seated informed me..... that he would exert his utmost endeavours to make the country happy under his administration, that the Company had shewn a great regard to his Father and he hoped to meet with the same favour from them; that he should not be behindhand with his father in testifying his love to the English, that whatever engagements his father had entered into with the Governor and Council he would strictly adhere to, and that he hoped the Company would supply the place of a Father to him. Hetold Maharaug Nund-comar that he had been the faithful and beloved servant of the old Nabob and that he esteemed him for his Integrity and Diligence (sic) that he confirmed him in the same station his Deceased Father had employed him in, and hoped to meet the same attachment and service from him which he had afforded to his Father". "Proclamation was after this made through the City with the usual Ceremonies of his accession to the Subaship", wrote the Resident in conclusion, "Juggut Seat and all the Principal People of the City who were present at the Ceremony gave their Nuzurs to the New Nabob, and proper notice and orders are sent to all the different Provinces of this event and everything seems to be in perfect Tranquility".⁹

⁷. See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Friday, 8th February, 1765.

⁸. We also find in the first Paragraph of a Secret Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 8th February, 1765,—

"We have advised you in the Letter addressed by this ship of the ill state of the Nabob's Health and are now sorry to be obliged to add the certain Information received this morning from the Resident at the Durbar of his Demise about noon the 5th Instant".

In the manuscript copy of the letter (as available in the Imperial Record Office, Government of India), from which this extract has been taken, the words "8th January," occur in the place where the date of a letter is usually given. On a further investigation we have found that the word "January" is an obvious clerical error or oversight. As we have already seen in the text above, the Nawab Meer Jaffier was alive on 29th January, 1765, and that he died on 5th February, 1765.

⁹. The President, Mr. John Spencer, laid before his Council the following translation of the letter which he had recieved from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla on the 7th February, 1765 :—

"Yesterday being Tuesday, the 14th of Shabaun the 6th year of the reign the Nabob my Father being then alive wrote you a letter which you must have received, informing you of his Illness and recommending to you myself and Brothers the Nabob Syif-u-Dowla Bahadre and the Nabob Mobareck-ul-Dowla Bahadre and Maharajah Nundcomar Bahadre and the rest of his Family, after that about quarter past one, afternoon he gave up his soul to God and recommending us Friendless to your regard left us to lament his Departure—Immediately upon the news of this Mr. Middleton and Mr. George Gray and Mr. Stables Bahadre and Mr. Droz and other Gentlemen came to me and administered comfort and by the advice and counsel of those Gentlemen and the Friends of my Deceased Father I sat on the Musnud and applied to carrying on the Business of the Government and caused this to be proclaimed throughout the City. As I consider it my duty and the chief of all objects to promote the Good of the People and prosperity of the Country, If it please God, I shall set about compleating the work with more eagerness than ever—as the sincerest Friendship subsisted between my deceased Father and you Gentlemen, I also now must hope even for a great degree of your regard—*Since my father in his Life time recommended me you Sir, in every respect I have my Eyes fixed on your Friendship*—I continue firm to the agreement made by the late Nabob with you Gentlemen, and am not, or shall be in any wise neglectfull in this matter"—See Proceedings, Council, Secret Department, Fort William, Friday, 8th February, 1765. (The italics are ours).

The President also informed his Council that he had recieved another letter from the Nawab to the same purpose, "addressed to him and them Jointly".—See *ibid*.

Meanwhile, on hearing from Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Durbar, about " the Nabob's Indisposition ", the President had written to him two letters—one dated 31st January, 1765, and the other 1st February, 1765. In the first¹⁰ he had written to him :

" I have received your several Letters advising of the Dangerous way the Nabob is in, at this Juncture his Demise would throw the province into a good deal of Confusion. Therefore I earnestly hope next advices may bring a more favourable account.

" I have wrote Capt. Grant to remain with you if at Muxadabad or to return to you if on the way down to take charge of 6 Company's of Seapoys that are immediately ordered to be with you, to preserve the tranquility of the place and support the Government and you must encourage in case of accident the Nabob's family and his ministers to exert themselves and support them carrying on the Government that confusion may not ensue.

" Keep me constantly advised of the situation of the Nabob and affairs at the City that the necessary resolutions may be taken here to prevent troubles in the Country.

" The officers will be dispatched as if going on to the Army but is to follow your orders, if you require it and stay with you, and you will take care that the Nabob in case he does well again take no umbrage at this step of ours which is solely calculated to preserve the tranquility of the City and his family from the inconveniences they would otherwise be subjected to".

In his second letter¹¹ the President had written to Mr. Middleton, among other things :

" As things are circumstanced I cant see We have anything to do but to support the Government in its present channel on which plan you should act for any change now even for the better would throw the country into a flame, stop our collections and payments and perhaps give the Vizier an opportunity to overset our affairs, therefore I think there must be the greatest appearance of unanimity between us and the present family.....

" If the nabob actually dies we shall deleberate on the necessary measures as soon as possible and duly advise and instruct you and in the meantime you will pursue this plan."¹²

As we have stated before, the Nawab Meer Jaffier did actually die on 5th February, 1765, and " his surviving eldest son " Nazm-ud-Dowla sat on the *Musnud*

¹⁰. See the Presidents' letter to Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William 31st January, 1765.—*Vide* Secret Consultation, Fort William, 8th February, 1765.

¹¹. See the President's letter to Mr. Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William 1st February, 1765.—*Vide* *ibid*.

¹². The President had also written in this letter :—

" I hope Captain Grant is with you, two Companys set out from hence last night under Ensign Munson who is to follow your Orders, Four Companys under a Subaltern will join you from Burdwan and as Capt. Maclean is on his way to Mongheer you are hereby authorized to detain in if you think proper for the service, or any other officer or Detachment that may be on its way to or from Patna or the army, I am glad to see by your last you was not apprehensive of trouble, but prevention at all times is better than remedy".—*See* *ibid*.

at Moorshedabad as his successor, on that day. We have also seen from a letter of the Resident at the Durbar to the Council at Fort William that he had, "after seeing the Ceremony of his (*i.e.* the Nazm-ud-Dowla's) Inauguration performed presented him with a Nuzur of Congratulation on his accession to the Subadarry". Apparently, this should have been the end of all matters connected with the question of succession to Meer Jaffier in the office of Nawab of Bengal. But this was not to be the case. Nazm-ud-Dowla's accession to the office of Nawab had, to be valid, to be formally confirmed by the Company. We shall, therefore, see now what the Company's agents at Calcutta did on receiving the letter of the Resident at the Durbar, dated at Muxadabad 5th February, 1765, which had conveyed the news of the death of Meer Jaffier, and to which we have already alluded.

At a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 8th February, 1765, the President informed the Council, after he had placed before it the letter of the Resident at the Durbar as well as the translation of the letter he had received from the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla, referred to before, that in view of the smallness in the number of its members then at the Presidency (*i.e.*, at Fort William) he had written to Mr. John Johnstone, who was "near at hand",¹³ requesting him to "repair with all Expedition to Calcutta to assist us in our Deliberations and the proper measures to be taken on this occasion". The Council, therefore, agreed to defer taking any "Final resolution till his arrival". It also decided to inform Mr. Middleton of this decision and to write to him "to the following Effect":—

"That we are much concerned on the event that it is as yet our Intent to support the Family of Meer Jaffier; But as many arrangements will be necessary which are of such consequence as cannot be immediately determined on, we desire he (*i.e.*, Mr. Middleton) will in the meantime *signify our orders*, that the officers of the late Government do carry on the Business in the usual manner, And that when We have fully determined on the Points which may occur, *a Committee of the Board will be appointed to seat the successor on the Musnud in a proper and Publick manner that he as well the whole country may see that he receives his Government from the Company.*¹⁴ And that this Committee will have it further in charge to see the said several arrangements carried into Execution¹⁵".

Further, the Council decided to write to the Commander in Chief (of the Company's Forces in Bengal) and to its subordinate Factories, informing them of what had happened; and to the Commander-in-Chief alone "to discourage to the utmost any applications for Sunnuds¹⁶ for the Provinces from any Quarter, as", the Council said, "altho' such Sunnuds could not be of weight to support themselves without our assistance yet they might in improper hands be sufficiently so to embarrass our

¹³. He was then at Burdwan.—See the Secret Letter to Court, dated at Fort William 8th February 1765.

¹⁴. The italics are ours.

¹⁵. The contents of this letter nicely illustrate James Mill's proposition:

"The right of choice (of the Nawab) belonged unquestionably to the Emperor; but to this right the servants of the Company never for a moment thought of paying any regard".—See James Mill, *History of British India* (4th Edition, H. H. Wilson), Vol. III, p. 357.

¹⁶. Obviously from the Mughal Emperor.

affairs, and that it is Our Intention if they should appear necessary to have them procured thro' our Influence alone".¹⁷ Thus the Council was not prepared to allow anybody else to come in between the Company and the Nawab.

The Council next considered the question of "succession to the Subaship" of Bengal at its Consultation held at Fort William on 12th February, 1765, and it held that the succession should be continued "in the Family of Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn"¹⁸ and "in the person of his surviving eldest son Najim-o-Dowlah".¹⁹ It then adjourned

¹⁷. The Council also agreed to address by the Vansittart a short letter to the Court of Directors, informing it of the death of Meer Jaffier and of the events that had followed it.

Among other things, the Council wrote to the Court in this letter:

"The Nabob left three children behind him the Eldest about 16 years old we have not a very favourable opinion (*sic*) of this young man's abilities or character, but as the Removal of the succession out of the Family if the late Nabob might at this critical juncture of affairs throw the Country into Confusion—We propose to Nominate him thereto giving him fully to understand that he receives and must Hold the Government by the Influence and Authority of the Company..... The young children We must observe are as unequal to any actual charge from their Minority as the other appears to be from his incapacity And in order therefore to supply this want of a Capable person in the Family We shall take every precaution that proper officers are appointed for the management of the affairs of the Government..... We shall immediately enter into the maturest discussion of all the circumstances attending this change and then form such Resolutions as may appear to us best calculated for the Companies' Interest and the Good of the Country in General—And when we have so done shall appoint a Committee of the Board to proceed to the City (*i.e.* Moorshedabad) in order to Seat the Successor on the Musnud and see those Resolutions Effectually carried into Execution".—See the Secret Letter to the Court dated at Fort William 8th February, 1765. (*The italics are ours.*)

¹⁸. The Council was unanimous on this point.

¹⁹. One member of the Council, Mr. John Burdett, dissented from this latter decision.

On behalf of Nazm-ud-Dowla the Council argued as follows :

"Tho' agreeable to the Order of succession in Europe the next Heir would be the son of Miron his Eldest son deceased, yet considering that he is very young, That the old Nabob never regarded him as his successor, that agreeable to the known usages among the Musselmen the right of the Grandson is not wronged by his nominating his second son tho not by his married wife to succeed, That Najim-O Dowla had hitherto Passed as the Chutta (Junior) Nabob was introduced under that Title to the Governor and Council at Calcutta—and had been set by the Nabob while he lived, on the Musnud of which Mr. Middleton informed the Board, and which ceremony is considered as the formality in declaring the successor That in that light he had accordingly received Nuzeranas from the Principal officers and People of the City (*i.e.* Moorshedabad) as well as from our Resident at the Durbar, and that he has in consequence of his Father's Death assumed the Government and was seated on the Musnud in Presence of our Resident and received Nezeranas Publicly at this solemnity also, that Letters advising of the Nabob's Death and his accession have already been everywhere circulated in the usual manner ('Form' according to one copy) throughout the Provinces..... That upon the whole it is better they should permit and confirm Meer Jaffier's Nomination as matters are circumstanced than by any alteration in favour of Miron's son run the hazard of Fresh Convulsions and parties in the country while we are so deeply engaged in so distant a war, and considering the many inconveniences that might be expected to attend on so long a Minority".

Mr. Burdett, however, was not convinced by these arguments. He held that Miron's son should be placed on the Musnud as he was "certainly the right Heir, whereas the other (*i.e.* Nazm-ud-Dowla) is known to be the son of Jaffier Aly Cawn's Concubine"; that "Jaffier Aly (having placed him on the Musnud before his Death and our Resident (at the Durbar) having paid his Nazer on the occasion should not be deemed a sufficient Reason for our Confirmation"; and that Miron's son's minority could not be regarded as a "Just reason for setting him aside" as it might "be easily remedied by our appointing proper Ministers to manage the affairs of Government under our inspection till he becomes of age sufficient to take the Reins himself".—See Consultation, Secret, Fort William, 12th February, 1765.

(*The lady in question became later on, whatever might have been her earlier position, a wife of Meer Jaffier.—See in this connexion Mr. B. N. Banerjee's article entitled "The Mother of the Company, in "Bengal: Past and Present", Vol. XXXII, 1926).

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its meeting till Thursday, 14th February, 1765, "to consider the several Arrangements, and Regulations necessary to be made in the Government for the Benefit of the Nabob, and the Company and for the Tranquility of the Country, and the Articles to compass (compose ?).....the Treaty". Accordingly, the Council met at Fort William on 14th February, 1765, adopted some resolutions for incorporation as articles in the Treaty to be entered into with Nazm-ud-Dowla, and ordered a draft of the Treaty to be prepared from them. It also resolved that Nazm-ud-Dowla "shall be given to understand he shall make no application for Sunnuds (from the Emperor) But thro' us".

Further, the Council decided that the President should "immediately write to Najim-O-Dowla and Mahomed Reza Cawn", communicating its decisions, and a Deputation, consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester, Senior and Middleton, should be appointed "to get the Treaty and the other Parts of our Resolutions duly Executed".

The President then wrote to Nazm-ud-Dowla the following letter :—

"Myself and the Council have received your Letters communicating to us the demise of your father the late Nabob on which Event We sincerely condole with you. From our great regard and attachment to him and his family, We are come to a determination of nominating and supporting you in the subadarry under engagements which we shall

It may be noted here that the Select Committee which had been appointed by the Court of Directors under its order of 1st June, 1764, and which held its first meeting at Fort William on 7th May 1765, did not approve of the decision of the Council stated above. Referring to the death of Meer Jaffier it wrote to the Court on 30th September, 1765, that this event had "furnished the most glorious opportunity of establishing" the influence and power of the Company "on so solid a basis, as must soon have rendered the English East India Company the most potent commercial body that ever flourished at any period of time". "At Fort St. George", it further said, "we received the first advices of the demise of Meer Jaffier.....It was firmly imagined, to that no definitive measures would be taken.....in respect to.....filling the vacancy in the Nizamut, as *the Lapwing* (conveying the Court's General Letter to Bengal of 1st June, 1764) arrived in the month of January (1765) with your despatches and the appointment of a Committee (itself), with express powers to that purpose, for the successful execution of which the happiest occasion now offered. However, a contrary resolution prevailed in the Council. The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions, from that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation.....was appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice to the claim of his grandson; and, for this measure, such reasons are assigned, as ought to have dictated a diametrically opposite resolution. Meeran's son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensibly necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation, was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune".—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765.

It appears to us, however, that the effect of placing Nazm-ud-Dowla on the throne of Bengal was in essence the same as would have been the case if Miron's son had been placed thereon.

The Committee's reference to "the opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes", etc. perhaps led James Mill to make the following observation on the decision of the Council on the question of succession to the office of Nawab on the death of Meer Jaffier :—

"Another motive had doubtless some weight : Nujum-ud-Dowla could give presents; the infant son of Meeran, whose revenues must be accounted for to the Company, could not".—See his *History of British India*, Volume, III, 1848, p. 358.

Regard being had to what the members of the deputation received at Moorsshedabad by way of "presents" on the accession of Nazm-ud-Dowla to the throne, there may be some justification for the Committee's—and, later on, James Mill's—remarks; but there is no direct proof of this motive in the Proceedings of the Council referred to before.

communicate by Gentlemen of the Board, who will immediately proceed to settle these points with you and see you seated in proper Terms and dignity that the whole Provinces may know you are supported by the Company. We shall then also order you to be proclaimed here at Dacca, Patna, the Army Etc. And as it is necessary and expedient that every assistance should be given to you on the administration of this Weighty Government and that you should have about you (a) Person to be confided in, Mahomed Reza Cawn is directed by us in the enclosed Ltr to be at the City against the arrival of our Deputies there, you will forward the same to him accordingly with one from yourself to the same purport as we imagine he will be of great use in his advice to you. We have sent him to Dacca a copy of the Letter now inclosed to you that no time may be lost in fixing you firmly on the Musnud ; and at all times look on myself and the Gentlemen of the Council as fully determined to support you in it against all that wish ill to yourself or family. We are your firm friends and would for the Present have the Business of your Government carried on by the officers now employed, and let them consider it as material and essential to secure them the continuance of your and our Favour that the least impediment is put to the collections of the revenues and payments of the Kistbundee settled by your father for the army,²⁰ Restitution and other Agreements²¹.....”

And to Mahomed Reza Cawn the President wrote :—

“ On the demise of the late Nabob Myself and the Gentlemen of the Council have determined to support the Government in his family on the Person of Najim-o-Dowla ; to place him on the Masnud with proper solemnity We are sending on the Part of the Company four Members from our Council, and we are resolved to support him therein. It is our desire that you immediately set out to meet them at the City to give your advice and opinion for the proper settlement of the Business of the Subadaree ; We have desired the Nabob to send a Purwannah for this purpose immediately to you from the City with this Letter. But that there may be no delay therein I send a Duplicate on to Dacca, on receipt of either you will conform to our desire ”²².

The Council next met on Saturday, 16th February, 1765, and having read and approved the draft of the Treaty “ intended to be entered into with Najim-o-Dowla ” ordered it to “ be engrossed fair”. It also agreed to meet on the following Tuesday, and give “ the Necessary Instructions to the Deputies ”. The President then laid

²⁰. The reference, here, is to the sum of five lakhs of rupees which the Nawab Meer Jaffier promised to pay to the Company, on September 16th, 1764, towards meeting the expenses of its troops during the war with Shujay-ul-Dowla.—See Aitchiston, *A Collection of Treaties, etc.*, Vol. I, 1909, pp. 221-222.

²¹. See the provisions of the Company's Treaty with Meer Jaffier, dated 10th July, 1763 ; also Meer Jaffier's “ Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month for the expenses of the Army ”, dated 16th September, 1764,—*ibid*, pp. 217—222.

²². See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 14th February, 1765.

before the Council the following translation of a letter which Nazm-ud-Dowla had addressed to it and which had been received on that day (16th February, 1765)²³ :—

“ Heretofore I wrote acquainting you with the situation of affairs here but I have not been rejoiced by your answer which might be the Means of Administering Consolation to me ; I am in the greatest expectation of it as of old a mutual regard, and Friendship has subsisted between my deceased Father, and you Gentlemen I entertain the strongest Hopes that now also by writing frequently the news of your welfare You will favour and rejoice me—From the day of my father’s death, I have applied without Intermission to the management of the affairs of the Nizamut, and the settling affairs at this place, and everything goes on well ; if it please God by the Blessing on the affairs of my Father and by the Favour of you Gentlemen every Business will be properly executed even more so than formerly You will be informed of the rest by Baboo Juggut Chund whenever this must have arrived with you, You should pay a favourable attention to his representations ”.

At the Secret Consultation held at Fort William on Tuesday, 19th February, 1765, however, Mr. Gray, a Member of the Council, who had not been present at the Secret Consultation, held on 14th February, 1765, delivered, after the Council had read the fair copy of the proposed treaty with Nazm-ud-Dowla, a minute in which he expressed his dissent from some of its provisions. He said that he agreed that the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla “ should be supported in the Government ”. “ This ”, he held, “ in my opinion is But Consistent with Justice, Honour and Gratitude on our Parts, and what we could not have opposed without a Breach of those Principles ”.

“ However ”, continuing Mr. Gray said, “ although it is agreed that Nazm-ud-Dowla should be Nabob, yet this mark of Friendship to his family, is clogged with articles which leave him only the Name without any part of the Power. For without having consulted his opinion or his inclination it is dictated to him that Mahomed Reza Cawn a servant of his Father at present Naib of Dacca must be the Naib Subah, and that in a manner which will throw the entire administration into his Hands. It has been also proposed that the collection of the Revenues should be equally divided between Maharaja Nundomar and Roydulub ; and further it resolved to reserve the Board a Negative voice in the appointment of all the other Mutsedies and officers of the Government ”.

From these articles of the treaty proposed to be made with the new Nawab, observed Mr. Gray, “ I from my heart dissent considering them as the greatest Manifestations We can offer to a Prince our Ally and not our slave ; to one connected with us by the Ties of Friendship, and not subjected to us by conquest ”.

In regard to Mahomed Reza Cawn Mr. Gray stated that Meer Jaffier had “ had a very great dislike to him because he was diffident in his revenues, and for other reasons ”. “ And the present Nabob not only hates him, but is jealous and afraid of his aspiring Temper. To impose therefore such a Person upon him is treating him with cruelty as well as Indignity, and would rather serve to drive him to despair than to assist him in the Government. For Mahomed Reza Cawn will have too great

²³. See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Saturday, 16th February, 1765.

an opportunity of retaliating upon the Nabob for the Injuries he will suppose he has sustained from his father. Besides Mahomed Reza Cawn is by no means of a sufficient Rank to hold a Post which commands such distinguished Mutsedies as the Royroyen and the Nizamut Dwan, two officers holding precedence of every man in the country excepting the Nabob and his own Family ”²⁴.

Moreover, Mr. Gray pointed out that the provisions of the proposed treaty with Nazm-ud-Dowla, to which he had referred, were liable to another objection. “ To the best of my judgement ”, he said, “ it does not seem the Hon’ble Company’s Intention that we should take so much Power in the Government of the Country into our own hands from the Nabob whom they always esteem as an Ally with an independent authority that he makes over to the Company Revenues of lands, and engages to keep out foreign Nations, and on all occasions he is considered as a Principal and not accountable to any for his Transactions ; But if we encroach on his Authority, by taking such a share of the administration we shall make it appear that the Company make the Grants to themselves and that they oppose the Entrance of Foreign Nations into Bengal. The Company and not the Nabob will then be considered as the Principal and in all respects they will be accountable for whatever is done in the country and as force is the argument we can produce in our favour ; we tacitly acknowledge the same Right in the French, Dutch, or any other Power, whenever they chuse to make use of it.....Had it been the Company’s Intention to interfere in the Government of the Nabob’s Country, they would not have failed to send Instructions and orders to that Purpose, hitherto I have seen none, and until such orders arrive, I shall look on all encroachments on the Nabob’s authority as usurpations on our part and protest against them. Was the Nabob himself to offer them I should not give my consent for accepting them much less can I approve of their being forced upon him.”

Lastly, Mr. Gray remarked that pains seemed to have been taken “ to prejudice People’s minds against the Nabob Najim-o-Dowla as perfectly void of understanding ”. “ But I am myself convinced to the contrary, and think ”, said he, “ he has sufficient capacity to manage his Government, He is also of sufficient age to take the Government upon him, and has as little occasion for Mahomed Reza Cawn to help him on account of his youth as his father had for Meer Cossim on account of his age. As to the inexperience he is taxed with, he hath it in common with all Princes on their first Entrance into a new Government and a short time will make him acquainted with his Business ”.

²⁴. He also said in this connexion :—

“ There appears to me a great impropriety in dividing the collection of the Revenues equally betwixt Maharaja Nundcomar and Roydulub ; nor can it be done without altering the Form of Government of the Country, Nundcomar is the Proper Royroyen by the King’s appointment and it is his Business alone to collect the General Revenues of the Country from the different Naibs, Fougders, Etc. Roydulub is Nizamut Dwan and his Business is to collect the Rents of the Nazim’s Jagheer and to have charge of disbursements of the Subadaree, These two Departments of the Government have their distinct offices and Registers, and are independent of one another. They cannot be changed or blended without changing the Regulations by which the Country hath been heretofore governed ; and we begin to make alterations in the Form of Government we may as well consequence of this Innovation and that of Mahomed Reza Cawn’s appointment would be fatal to the country, for the newly come into Power would immediately turn out all the old officers and People put in by the Royroyen to whom both Mahomed Reza Cawn and Roydulub are known to bear an irreconcilable Enmity ; and the new officers looking upon their irregular appointments as but of short Duration, will lose no Time to drain the country and fill their own Pockets ”.

Thus Mr. Gray pleaded on behalf of Nazm-ud-Dowla on 19th February, 1765. On the next day²⁵ the Council met again, and Mr. Gray delivered another minute on that day. Among other things he said in it that if a Naib or Assistant in the Nawab's Government was absolutely necessary, he should be such a person in whom the Nabob could have a sufficient confidence. The members of the Deputation would have an opportunity, on their arrival at Moorshedabad, "of informing themselves who is a proper person for that charge, and they can advise the Board accordingly". Further, he thought that Nundcomar and Roy Dulab ought "to fill the same employments they had been appointed to" by Meer Jaffier, and that "the business of the Government should go on in all respects as before" the latter's death. "All appearances of reducing the Nabob's power, and Assuming it into our own hands", Mr. Gray concluded, "ought to be avoided, whilst we have the force in our own Hands, it need never be feared. But we shall have sufficient Influence with the Nabob to prevail with him to grant us whatever favours we may have occasion to ask".

In reply to this and to Mr. Gray's former minute, the other members of the Council delivered²⁶ a long minute in support of the decisions it had already come to. The minute is remarkable for its frankness and straightforward character.

They stated in it :—

"As Meer Jaffier had been appointed and raised to the Subah by the Company's Forces, had alone (also ?) been supported in it by our influence, We do not allow that any right of succession or the Nomination could rest with him or his Family till our acquiescence and confirmation had been obtained ; Much less will We admit that Najim-O-Dowla being illegitimate, can have any right to assume the Government himself, which we beside esteem the Act, and contrivance alone of Nundcomer—The same force that was employed to raise the Father must be exerted to support the son, and if that does not give us some right to a nomination *thrice already assumed*,²⁷ We know not what can ; The Company have a right to expect that their Forces be devoted to establish a succession and Government that shall be permanent in itself, secure and beneficial to their affairs ; And that the Management may be placed in Hands We can depend on for promoting these Ends". "Shall we", they asked, "who have lost so many lives in support of Privileges heretofore held by grants from Delhi.....yield up our authority in Bengal and sacrifice at once all we have been contended (*sic*) for": "To admit the king's right of confirming, while we support a Man by force in the Nizamut is the greatest absurdity and Arguments very dangerous to support..... and as We alone whatever glossing be put upon it, support the present Government in the family against the King's inclinations—having been in Arms Against the King himself in support of it, We will consider alone that we have as good a right to take as large a share as will answer our Principal Ends, Security to our Trade and possessions, as any other People who are as much usurpers as We".

In regard to the question of the position of the Company in relation to the Mughal Emperor, they said ; "there is no doubt we have more influence to obtain the Sunnuds if we choose them, than any other People whatever. We have already thrice *dictated to the King*²⁸ the successor we wish and seem determined once again to employ our

²⁵. See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Wednesday, 20th February, 1765.

²⁶. Ibid.

²⁷. The italics are ours.

²⁸. The italics are ours.

Influence on this occasion, for if we do not, Najim-o-Dowla will not long remain subah of these Provinces. And while we *dictate* to the King²⁹ a successor shall we hesitate in laying such restraint as appear salutary on a youth so totally incapable of Government ”.

In regard to Nundcomar, they observed : “ Was Najim-o-Dowla of age and capacity to hold his Authority independent of any but ourselves we would not wish to have the nomination of any officers or to interfere where properly elected ; and we are only inclined to this measure from a firm persuasion if we act otherwise, that the whole Government will rest on Nundcomar, the unanimous voice of the Board (*i.e.* the Council) have often declared their wishes to remove Nundcomar from the place he held, But he had somehow so riveted to himself the affections of the old Nabob (*i.e.* Meer Jaffier) that out of regard to him they forbore as he could not be brought to see what We were all fully convinced of, that both his Government and ours were endangered by the great power this man held. The Company too in one of their letters point him out as a man they would wish to see removed from all affairs of trust ; and shall we now neglect this occasion of putting the inclinations of our masters in force and of acting agreeably to the sense the Board have so oft expressed of this man’s character..... *The Nabob must be supported by force, and in our opinion be given to understand he can have no right but what he derives from us and our influence with the King.*³⁰ We hold him incapable of Government from the concurrent sentiments of almost every man who has seen and conversed with (him) and therefore can only accede to his succession on certain assurances that Nand-comar never shall have the lead as the Company’s orders and our knowledge of his character point him as unworthy of such a trust. The Company do not seem to wish to extend their connections beyond the provinces ; but we believe they would think us ill servants, if while we employ their arms in support of a Government, we do not make such limitations as may be necessary for the security of their possessions and commerce and for the prevention of the dangerous changes which have happened in Bengal since the time of our successes and appointment of Meer Jaffier ”.

In regard to Mahomed Reza Cawn, they said that they believed that there was “ no cause of aversion between Najim-o-Dowla and Mahomed Reza Cawn, but what a hour’s conversation would remove ”.

In regard to the appointment of Mutsaddies, they said : “ The Board do not stipulate to be consulted in the appointment of the Aumils to be employed in the several Districts, but reserve to themselves the privilege of objecting and representing to the Nabob should the Mutsadies to serve their own ends throw them into improper hands and in case of such Aumils oppressing..... the country ; that the Nabob shall promise to pay proper regard to such representations. With such check we think the Nabob must have much greater justice done him in his revenues than any he can expect while left at the disposal of Nundcomar and his creatures or any single man whose interest it is to cheat and keep him in utter darkness in all these points ”.

Lastly, they said, “ as to our present intent to recommend officers and divide their powers being an usurpation, it can’t be more so than our first appointment and support of Meer Jaffier’s family, for which we neither waited the Company’s orders or the King’s assent—nor is it possible that the Company as matters have stood should

²⁹ The italics are ours.

³⁰ The italics are ours.

have sent orders how to act on an emergency so little expected or on such a subject where times and circumstances may so materially alter their Interest in the events. In our ready acquiescence to appoint Najim-o-Dowla we have shown sufficient attachment and respect to the memory of Meer Jaffier ". Thus the majority of the Council replied to Mr. Gray. Thereafter the Council agreed³¹ to sign the proposed treaty with Nazm-ud-Dowla on behalf of the Company, and to issue the following Instructions " to the Gentlemen of the Deputation " :—

" To

John Johnston

Ascanias William Senior

Samuel Middleton

Ralph Leycester Esquires.

" Gentlemen,

Having thought proper to nominate you a deputation from the Board to get the treaty with the New Nabob Najim-o-Dowla, and some consequent arrangements and instructions executed, we herewith enclose the treaty in two copies executed on our part, and when *the nabob has acceded to the Articles on his*³² you will deliver one copy to remain in his Possession and return the other to us ; you will afterwards see him seated in due form on the Musnud, and cause proclamation to be made of his accession at the city, and places adjacent, giving us immediate advice thereof that we may have him also proclaimed (*sic*) at Calcutta, the army and the subordinate factories.....

" With respect to the business intended to be allotted between Roydullub and Nundcomar, we have however to define here that when you have made such a division thereof as you think will agreeably to our instructions bring their powers nearly upon an equality, you will advise, and explain the same to us, for our further instructions before it is carried into execution, and in the meantime, the collections are to be continued in the hands they now are....."

And it appears from a letter³³ from the members of the deputation, dated at Mutajyl (Moorshedabad) 25th February, 1765, that the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla " signed, and executed the two copies " of the treaty referred to in the instructions quoted above, on that day. Among other matters, they wrote in this letter :

" It was thought proper that a private audience should be desired of the Nabob Nezemal Dowlah (*i.e.* Nazm-ud-Dowlah), that we might enter on the business of our commission without delay. We accordingly waited on him this morning in his private apartment, delivered him the President's letter and produced the draught of the treaty proposed to be now made, and ratified betwixt him and the Hon'ble Company, all possibly (possible ?) pains and attention was taken to give him the clearest and plainest notion of the several articles of the treaty and of the sincerity of our intentions *to support him on those conditions* faithfully and steadily after having read it over four times and compared the several articles with those contained in the

³¹ See Secret Consultation, For William, 20th February, 1765.

³² The italics are ours.

³³ The letter was addressed " to the Honble John Spencer Esqr., President and Governor and Council of Fort William ".—See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 28th February, 1765.

last treaty contracted with his father, and maturely considered the matter. He agreed to accept it in the form it was offered, and accordingly signed, and executed the two copies, In the presence of the chief men of the Durbar”.

Also³⁴—

“ We found the Nabob’s mind greatly prepossessed with the suspicion of our aiming to raise Mahomed Reza Cawn to the Subaship. We soon convinced him how idle were his fears on this head, and how needless and absurd the steps we are now taking to secure him in the most effectual manner, in the full and quiet enjoyment of the Subadaree by the faith of the most solemn treaty; If we actually had any such design.....from the assurance we have given the Nabob that Mahomed Reza Cawn shall never have our protection if he proves unfaithful to his trust all his scruples were removed and he seemed perfectly stisfied ”.³⁵

³⁴ See the letter from the deputation to the Council at Fort William, dated at Mutajyl 25th February, 1765.—*Vide* Secret Consultation, Fort William, 28th February, 1765.

³⁵ It appears, however, from a letter which the Nawab Nazm-ud-Dowla had addressed to the President and Select Committee at Fort William and delivered in to the President (Lord Clive), and which the President placed before a meeting of the Committee held at Fort William on 1st June, 1765, that he had not been ‘ perfectly satisfied ’ with the appointment of Mahomed Reza Cawn as his Naib. After referring to the death of his father and to some of the incidents which had occurred before it, the Nawab wrote in his letter :

“ Six days afterwards (i.e. after the date of the death of his father) Mr. Middleton came and acquainted me, that two of the Counsellors were coming up from Calcutta for my comfort. This deputation I certainly thought was coming for my benefit and welfare.—The day Messrs. Johnstone and Leycester arrived at Cossimbazar, I sent Maharajah Nundcomar Bahadure to meet them—Mr. Johnstone was somewhat displeased with the said Maharaja before, about the pergunnah tumalook (Tumlook), therefore his meeting the gentlemen was not agreeable to Mr. Johnstone.—The next day the above gentlemen etc. came to me ; I was confident that these my friends and well-wishers would have done me the compliments of condolence, and comfort me. But they did not me the least thing of this kind ; instead whereof they begun (sic) to incumber me with many troublesome things, and at the same time they sent out all the people which were present together with my brother Nabob Syfud Dowla—and then they told me to send for Mahomed Reza Cawn from Dacca, and set him as Naib of the Nizamut, this troubled me much ; and they told me also, that till Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived from Dacca, and till he was set up as Naib of the Nizamut, I must not sit in the Dewan Connah, and that I must live in the same place where I was and put a stop to all publick business. The above named Mahomed Reza Cawn has had long ago evil intentions upon the Nizamut, my father therefore deemed him always as his enemy—and besides, there is large sum of money due from him to the Sircar ; for these reasons, I thought proper not to acquiesce to any of the above proposals, which were made to me—I told them to peruse the paper of advice of my deceased father, and see how it directs, and which I shall readily follow ; in answer to this they replied ‘ that your paper of advice was of no force or virtue, and every thing must be done as we think proper ’.

“ In this manner they have vexed me by sitting almost every day from the first of their arrival to their departure.

“ They presented me a paper, and requested I would sign it, this paper was that which they brought with them, and insisted on me to comply with their request. I sent for Meer Mohamed Irrich Cawn Maharaja Nundcomar Bahadure etc. The first acquainted the gentlemen that whatever a paper they want to be signed they would have no difficulty in it ; at the same time it was proper for all of them to peruse it first—Messrs. Johnstone and Leycester being much displeased at this, asked in a very angry manner, “ who they were that wanted to peruse the paper ”—after this Mounshy Sudoler-oo-dy who was near my presence told me to bring the former treaty and compare that with this, and then to sign it—at this Mr. Johnstone turned out the Mounshy ; and they told me that if in case I do not set up Mahomed Reza Cawn in the Naibship, and immediately sign the paper I should have no great chance of being in the possession of the Subahdary and then I should be extremely sorry for it—when I (found) him pressing me so eagerly and in an unfriendly manner I thought proper to sign the paper and deliver it to them, and they carried it away.

It also appears from the same letter that the " Ceremony of publickly seating the Nabob on the Musnud " was postponed, pending the arrival of Mahomed Reza Cawn at the City. This decision of the Deputies was objected to by Messrs. Burdett and Gray at the Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 28th. February, 1765.³⁶ The President, Mr. John Spencer, and Mr. Playdell, however, approved of the decision of the Deputies. And the Council, therefore, agreed to write³⁷ to the Deputies in reply that it confirmed the steps they had taken " to effect the Nabob's agreement to the Terms proposed to him....."

" After this Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived and sat as Naib ; he, for the better securing his Naibship, above twenty lacks of Rupees (in money and goods) out of my treasury has distributed among such people as he thought proper, and this without my knowledge—besides there is a balance due from the abovementioned Cawn of about twenty Lacks of Rs. on account of Dacca Syllat Rosshamabad, of which he does not choose to pay a single Cowry—the above said Mahomed Reza Cawn made Mr. Johnstone his Protector and Mr. Leycester his Vakeel and makes Raja Dullabrahin his fellow partner took from the Mounshies Mochulca papers under their hands—he keeps my seal under his own seal and there is nothing to be done with my will or order—titles, employments, kelauts, elephants, horses, and jewells are granted and distributed to others as he pleases....."

" When I intended going down to Calcutta, I was much distressed for paying my servant's wages and other current expences.

" Mr. Johnstone's bad treatment to me after my father's death, and Mahomed Reza Cawn's station are to me as if I was day and night in a flame..... now I beg your Lordship etc. as my protectors and sincere friends to put my affairs which were ruined by these people on a proper footing, as it was in my father's time—in doing this I shall think myself happy".

" N.B.—The following lines were written " in the Nabob's own hand ".

" Gentlemen,

I have wrote my sentiments in the above lines as brief as possible, and beg you will hear my petition".

After having " maturely weighed and considered " the " facts advanced in this letter and other circumstances which have this day appeared before " it, the Select Committee are unanimously of opinion that Mahomed Reza Cawn had " distributed among certain persons near twenty Lacks of rupees."

See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, 1st June, 1765.

³⁶ See Secret Consultation, Fort William, Thursday, 28th February, 1765.

³⁷ See the *ibid*.

Hyder Ali's relations with the Marathas 1763—'65.

[By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.]

The third battle of Panipat is regarded as the beginning of the end of Maratha ascendancy. But we are too much accustomed to think of the effects of this battle in terms of North Indian politics. It must not be forgotten that the echo of this battle resounded far and wide and Maratha affairs in the South were materially influenced to the detriment of the Maratha cause.

The disaster at Panipat stopped Maratha pressure south of the Tungabhadra and the support that Khande Rao would have otherwise received against Hyder was withdrawn, leaving Hyder absolutely free to pursue his plan of advance. It was not until 1763 that the Marathas once again marched in this direction. But in the meantime Hyder had not only consolidated his position in the Mysore State but had also conquered Bidnur, Sunda and Sera with its dependencies. He tried to bring Suvanur, Kurnul and Kurpa within the orbit of his influence and from what has been described as a 'defensive cordon'. Not content with the Tungabhadra frontier he advanced to the North-West of that river. Taking advantage of this temporary Maratha eclipse, he also took Dharwar and Bancapore. In diplomacy too he was successful for the Nizam had been conciliated.¹

Fortunately for the Maratha cause, there was one chieftain on the other side of the Tungabhadra, Murar Rao, the Chieftain of Gooti, who proved to be a thorn by the side of Hyder and maintained an unequal fight against him. Visaji Babu Rao² reported to the Peshwa that Hyder was daily gaining ground over Murar Rao, and had imprisoned many of his followers in Bangalore. Some had turned traitors and Murar Rao had lost even strong forts like Pingura, Madakshire and Maharajgad. He was practically fighting single-handed. We read in the Bakhar by Sathe that later in course of his first expedition, Madhava Rao recognised the services of Murar Rao and on receiving a representation from him, invested him with the title of Senapati.³

The ruler of Savanur, a dependent Maratha ally, had been recently overpowered by Hyder. He took the earliest opportunity of joining the Peshwa as soon as he crossed the Kistna. We read in a Marathi letter dated the 17th April 1864 :—"Our troops making halts came here. Savanurkar has been saved. Otherwise Mir Faizullah with 10,000 troops would have marched on Hangal. He had an intention of finishing Savanurkar. But the Peshwa reached quickly".⁴

Then took place the first open fight between the Peshwa and Hyder. Madhava Rao reached Savanur, where the Pathan Chief met him with 1,000/1,200 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. Madhava Rao marched from Savanur to the banks of the Tungabhadra. Meanwhile Hyder reached Harihar with 35,000 troops, infantry, artillery and cavalry. At Ratehalli, 36 miles south of Savanur and seventy miles South East of

¹ Peshwa Daftar Vol. 37—letter No. 23.

² Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 37—letter No. 20.

³ Sources of Maratha History—Rajwade, Vol. IV.

⁴ Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 37—Letter No. 30.

Dharwar, the fight took place. Gopal Rao and Vithal Shivdev came out one morning.^{4(a)} Hyder seeing that their troops were small in number, marched against them, advanced five miles, hoping to overwhelm them. The Maratha troops that were retreating before him did not number more than 4,000. Hyder moved slowly, threw rockets and pursued them as they retired. They kept on retiring and he continued to pursue them until there appeared suddenly before him, a Maratha army of about 50,000 (?). Hyder instantly sent a message to Faizullah Khan to advance from the camp with heavy artillery. He halted on the banks of a rivulet which was dry. The Maratha artillery being of large bore, did the greatest havoc. The artillery fight continued for 4½ hours. Hyder had forty field pieces but most of them were ¾ pounders. The Marathas had practically surrounded the Mysore camp and only Faizullah Khan succeeded in penetrating through their lines, with 3,000 troops to join Hyder. He suffered terribly and only succeeded in warding off the attack, a little before sunset, after the Marathas had withdrawn their artillery. On the Mysore side the dead were upwards of a thousand and the wounded were about the same number. The date of the action as given by Peixoto is 3rd May, 1764.⁵

Hyder raised batteries around his camp, waited for the Marathas, engaged them twice without much advantage to either side. Madhava Rao decided on an attempt to destroy the Mysore camp. He wrote to Hyder "that he had heard his name at Poona, where many of his heroic actions were related, and that he had come to seek him and fight him, for his father had advised him to cultivate friendship with all good soldiers and that was his own wish. But as he did not know whether all that was said was true, he had come himself to try him and he would expect that the Nabob would quit his entrenchments to-morrow, come to his camp, where he would find him ready. If, on the contrary, this was not done, he would perceive that Hyder was no soldier and what was said of him was more than truth. He would visit his camp and batteries the next day and tell him of the delight with which he left Poona to come and engage with him".⁶ Hyder laughed but when he heard from his spies in the Maratha camp that Madhava Rao was in earnest and had ordered all his chiefs to take betel in ratification of their oath, he marched after midnight to the entrenched fort at Anawatty where he arrived about 7 A.M. that day. As the fort had several hills around and as Hyder had posted his men to guard the roads between the hills, the Marathas could not penetrate. Hyder could now see that the Marathas would not be able to do him great harm for want of time, as the rains were at hand. In view of the approach of the rainy season, Madhava Rao left his camp divided among Savanur and other forts under the care of Gopal Rao and Sayaji Pant. Hyder also made "barracks for the infantry, big enough to enable the infantry to form in them, fire if necessary, without marching out or wetting their arms and took other precautions".⁷

⁴ (a) Peshwa Daftar Vol. 37—Letter No. 32 (2nd. day of Sudha Baisakh).

⁵ Peixoto's account of Hyder Ali Khan—Edited by Charles Philip Brown—Mss Eur D 295 (India Office Library). Peixoto served Hyder Ali from 1758—'67, and again from 1769—'71. He gives an intimate account of the affairs of Hyder with a wealth of details that I have found very useful. I have compared his account with the news-letters contained in Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 37, Khare's Aithihasik Lekh, Sangraha, Vol. II and Rajwade's sources of Maratha History. I have found that the Marathi version of Hyder—Madhava Rao encounter agrees with the Portuguese account in outline as also in details.

⁶ Peixoto—II paragraph 100.

⁷ Peixoto—II—paragraph 101.

Immediately after the beginning of the campaigning season, Hyder marched from Anawatty descended on Bankapur, planned an attack on the isolated force of Gopal Rao and threatened Savanur. Peixoto says that Hyder in course of this march sent some of his horsemen to show themselves to the Marathas and to withdraw before them, towards places of ambuscade. But this attempt to steal a march over the Marathas and use their tactics against them failed entirely. Peixoto writes—“ We remained there from 7 o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon ”, but the Marathas could not be enticed.^{7a} Hyder withdrew again to Anawatty. The Peshwa was then free to invest first Mudhol and then Dharwar. In Dharwar there was a garrison of Hyder commanded by Mir Faizulla's brother. Faizulla himself with about 9,000 troops and 7 cannons came within fifteen Kos of that fort. Between the fort and his army there was the Maratha army under Gopal Rao and Raste. Ultimately, however, he thought it prudent to withdraw and the fort was taken at the beginning of November.⁸

Madhava Rao now advanced to attack Anawatty and encamped near it on the 16th November, 1764. Hyder assigned to every chief, his position in the camp and told everyone that he would not receive any succour although in the greatest distress. Nobody was to quit his position under pain of death or the ruin of his house or his family. No one was to leave his position to bring succour to another. “ None of these precautions was sufficient for the perseverance of the Marathas was great ”

Hyder had erected a very strong battery out of the lines of his encampment mounted with 8 twentyfour and eighteen pounders. Mir Faizullah Khan was in charge of it, to defend it with 3,000 men and along with him was the Portugese commandant Joseph Menzes. The Maratha Camp was at a distance of about six miles. Every morning the Marathas would come out, would skirmish in detached platoons and would then press Hyder's army very heavily on one wing. Hyder used to march out for 6/7 days and then would not march out at all. The Marathas now came nearer and nearer. Until on the 1st December there took place a severe fight in which Hyder suffered a heavy defeat. The Nabob was on this day the dupe of an artifice which an experienced commander like him ought to have seen through. The Marathas came out early in the morning with their horse artillery numbering 54 pieces. Eight guns were placed on a small hill close to the Mysore outpost at the end of a wood. This was seemingly a very exposed position for the Marathas as Maratha horsemen could not enter the wood except in small numbers. As these 8 guns caused great loss, Hyder ordered an attack there and these guns were taken with great ease by Ismail Khan, Hyder then ordered Haji Md. Khan to take the hill upon which the guns stood and to defend it against the Maratha soldiers that would certainly try to retain not only the lost guns but also the position from which they had been dislodged. But now the troops that had taken the Maratha guns were overpowered by the Maratha horse, were compelled to retire and the Nabob sent a reinforcement of 2,000 to their support. But Ismail Khan and most of his troops were cut to pieces. ‘ Four field

^{7a} *Ibid*—III—paragraph 2.

Aithibask Lekh Sangraha II—Hyder started with 15,000 gardis, 6,000 cavalry, came to Hangal, suddenly marched to Bancapur, took 4½ hours' rest there, arrived at dawn at a brook between Savanur and Bankapur, hid there and made a few troops stand out. But Gopal Rao Patwardhan would not come out.

* Peshwa Daftar Vol. 37. Letter No. 51.

“ Kartik Suddha Dwadasi Somvar—three prahar, the Maratha flag began to fly ”.

* Peixoto —III—paragraph—11, 12.”

pieces were lost, the Nabob also was wounded in two places but not dangerously. In order that he might escape being taken or known, he took off all his clothes and topas and a caffree brought him safe to the camp.¹⁰ The Maratha estimate was that between 1,000—1,500 gardis were killed and 6 cannons were taken. It was a great victory. The fight lasted from midday until 2 o'clock.¹¹

Soon after this battle Raghunath Rao joined the Maratha camp. The Peshwa, his nephew, had himself sent Chinto Ananta to invite him to come. Immediately after began peace-negotiations that proved abortive. On the 26th December an attempt was made by Hyder on the Maratha position, defended by a river. He only succeeded in making them withdraw from the banks. For sometime the war continued faintly on both sides. On the 11th February, the Marathas broke up their camp and began their march in the direction of Bidnur. Hyder at once retreated his steps as quickly as he could towards Bidnur. His first halt was at Shikarpur, where he had some encounters with the Marathas. He was obliged to retreat further and further to Anantapur and thence to Bidnur. The Peshwa had in the meantime succeeded in taking Honnali without firing a shot and Kumsi, after a siege lasting 3 days. Faizulla Khan resisted at Anantapur. But on the 27th February, 1765, he fell back from Anantapur to Morangary outside the gate of Bidnur where breast-works and entrenchments were made.¹² Hyder was now anxious to conclude a treaty and considering the plight in which he was placed, the terms that were granted were very lenient. Madhava Rao wrote to Nana Fadnis "after taking 2/4 places in Bidnur territory, I raised batteries at Anantapur. After taking Anantapur, I intended to advance and conquer Bidnur. Hyder sent his Vakil and with great eagerness began his negotiations. In the opinion of Tirtharup (Raghunth Rao) negotiations must not be protracted. So I have concluded the treaty".¹³

The terms of the Treaty :—

Hyder was to pay 28 lakhs as tribute.

He had to give up the Taluks of Bankapur, Harihar, and Basavapatan and release the brother of Gopal Rao.

He had to give back the territory of Murar Rao and of the ruler of Savanur.¹⁴

These extremely moderate terms, it has been suggested, were due to a desire, on the part of Raghunath Rao to enlist the support of Hyder Ali for the furtherance of his personal ambition. When we take into consideration the later career of Raghunath Rao, the suggestion does not seem to be unwarranted. Madhava Rao was in a position to demand that Hyder must also give up Sera, Chittaldrug, Raidrug and Harpanhalli. Though he had not insisted on a further restriction of Hyder's sphere of influence, he had succeeded in driving Hyder from the region between the Kistna and the Tungabhadra. With Murar Rao and the ruler of Suvanur restored to their old position and power, Maratha offensive could at any time be resumed south of the Tungabhadra.

¹⁰ Peixoto—III—21.

¹¹ Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 37—No. 55.

¹² Peixoto—III—43.

¹³ Peshwa Daftar—37—letter No. 63 dated the 30th March 1765.

¹⁴ Peshwa Daftar—37—letters Nos. 60, 61, 62, dated the 12th March 1765 and 13th March 1765.

Marquess Wellesley's policy towards Sindia in the war with Holkar (1804-05.)

[By Mr. N. B. Ray, M.A.]

Marquis Wellesley has been acclaimed as the greatest in the roll of the Governors-General that England sent to administer its vast possessions in India. A careful and unprejudiced study of his policy and transactions during the war with Holkar, unfolded by the papers in the Imperial Record Office, Poona Residency and the despatches edited by Martin, requires, however, a reconsideration of the very high tribute paid to the Marquis.

During the war against the Maratha chieftains *viz.*, Sindia and Bhonsla, Yeswant Rao Holkar had held aloof. But as this war drew to a close, Holkar began to show signs of restlessness, he set himself to incite the allies of the British and his military movements became so threatening that the British Commander-in-Chief asked him to retire within his own frontiers. Holkar evaded and spun the web of negotiation for two months (February and March 1804). At last his extravagant demands and language¹ were considered to be an affront to the authority of the British Government and war was declared against him on the 14th April.

Sindia had promised hearty co-operation in this war. Sindia's Minister had divulged the secret machinations of Holkar's Vakil to the British Resident and expressed strong feelings of resentment against him.

This unfriendliness combined with the old rivalry, the deep hatred the two chiefs bore to each other and Sindia's immediate prospect of gain by the annexation of Holkar's territory induced in the Governor-General's mind a firm belief of Sindia's sincere enthusiasm for a war against Holkar, but as the war went on, Sindia played such a cool game of finesse and dissimulation that the mighty consul was completely disgraced. An analysis of the events and the policy of the Marquis during the varying phases of this conflict will make our contention clear. The first period of the war (April to June) was one of English triumph; Col. Monson steadily drove Holkar before him into Malwa while Col. Murray pushed towards Indore from Gujrat; Sindia proffered the help of a quota of troops which he sent under Bapuji Sindia to join Monson and help the English. But from the very outset he adopted dilatory and obstructive tactics. Starting from Rajeghar Pattan 2nd May, Bapuji reached Kotah at the end of the month (letter of 30th May). Anxious and solicitous at first for Col. Murray's march for the protection of his territories from Holkar (Webb's letter, 11th May), Sindia sought to impede three days after, Murray's quick march by proposing to the Resident a round-about route (Webb's letter of 14th May). At the end of May he underwent a complete somersault by proposing the recall of Bapuji for the defence of Malwa (Webb's letter to G. G. 31st May) and withholding all supplies and assistance necessary for Col. Murray's march. These were ominous symptoms. Sindia's Government pleaded

¹ Lako became rather angry "at Holkar's styling himself servant of Muhammad Shah", instead of the usual title of servant of Shah Alam, M. IV 49.

Martin is abbreviated into M.

The letters referred to in this paper will be printed in a volume of the [Poona] Residency Series which is being published under the general editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

✓ extreme pecuniary distress, embarrassment and utter lack of resources. Some pecuniary advantage or concession was obviously needed to stir up Sindia's Government to activity.

The Governor General believed the representation of Sindia's Minister and was willing to relieve the distress of Sindia's Government by a grant of money, but the pecuniary assistance was hedged round with such restrictions that instead of being a generous loan or aid, it became tantamount to coercion. "The Governor General" wrote the Secretary on 11th June "will be prepared to consider with a sincere desire the means of affording pecuniary assistance to Daulat Rao's finances to the utmost practicable extent.....but it appears that this object might best be obtained by the conclusion of an arrangement with D. R. S., either for the grant of Dholpur, Bari, Raja Khara to the Hon'ble company in perpetual sovereignty or the transfer of those possessions to the British Government for a given period".

He also proposed to set Sindia's Government on its feet, but here again such humiliating conditions were annexed that they were calculated to add insult to injury. Thus, Secretary Lumsden wrote to Webb, "The G. G. will be disposed to consider with a cordial sentiment of amity the means of establishing order and peace within the dominions of the Maharaja, of improving his resources and of reviving such a portion of military power as may be necessary for the internal purposes of his Government and for his security under the protection of the British Government. But His Excellency will not sacrifice to Daulat Rao Sindia or to his Minister any portion of the British power or resources or any of the bulwarks of that power which have been acquired or fortified by the success of the war or the terms of peace, nor will the G. G. consent to infringe any article of our obligations to our allies in the war for the advantage and gratification of Daulat Rao Sindia". [letter, 11th June.]

The G. G. thus adopted a most illiberal attitude; he ventured to tear away a rich territory from his ally, who was expected to render effective help. He wanted to acquire by diplomacy what he could not gain by war. It was a very risky and hazardous game which Wellesley chose to play with his ally and it soon brought its own retribution.

In June the prospect of English success was brighter. Col. Monson continued the pursuit of Holkar and Murray headed his way north-eastward advancing to Badnawar (only 46 miles from Ujjain) on 30th June.

Things seemed to go very well for the English. The enemy was girt in by a ring of armies closing upon him from all directions. "Holkar's army", Lake was confident, "would be hunted down after the rains by two or three light armies" (M. IV). In this exultant mood the Governor General regarded Holkar as of no consequence and Sindia as deserving no particular consideration. In a letter addressed to Webb on the subject of accommodation with Holkar, he thus expatiated, "The general principles of the arrangement, should be to assign to Yeshwant Rao Holkar a pension or Jagir similar to that assigned to Amrit Rao under the guarantee of the British Government, to make a suitable provision for Cashee Rao Holkar from the territories of the Holkar family and to assign the remainder of those territories to Daulat Rao Sindia". The Governor General however took care to define his attitude towards Sindia more clearly by saying that the "power of Sindia is now sufficiently reduced and the Durbar is disposed to act in the interests of the defensive

alliance". He therefore "viewed with little apprehension any moderate and limited increase of Sindia's resources under the protection of the British guarantee". (Endmonstone's letter, 30th June).

With the advent of July the tide of the war however turned. Monson had proceeded into the heart of Malwa in pursuit of Holkar and on 7th July he was distant from Ujjain by only sixty miles. But then the wind turned in a contrary direction. Scarcity of provision coupled with his long distance from the base of operations, threw him into the greatest distress and compelled him to fall back. Holkar now flung himself upon the English and drove them back in a headlong retreat. The constant attacks of his cavalry gave the English colonel no rest; for nearly two months, the forlorn army continued its weary retreat and the shattered remnant of it struggled back to Agra in total demoralization on 31st August.

The disaster to Col. Monson's arms caused a sensation throughout India and brought about a complete alteration in the political situation. Holkar appeared with his cavalry in Northern India and hang like a menacing cloud near Mathura (September). As Lake advanced, Holkar dashed off to Delhi on 8th October and closely besieged it. At length the muffled undercurrent of disaffection caused by Wellesley's high-handed policy and ruthless annexation seemed to burst open the barriers and to overwhelm the British. The Bharatpur Raja Ranjit Singh and his son Ranadhir Singh opened a correspondence with Holkar and set on foot intrigues with the Zemindars of the Doab (M. IV 183). Raghuji Bhonsla began to harbour sinister designs; he flirted with a scheme of recovering Katak and Sambalpur, while Sindia's conduct and transactions afforded clear symptoms of a rift with his ally. Col. Murray was withheld all supplies on his arrival in Ujjain "inspite of the abundance of grain in the town"; the sick in Monson's Camp were not provided with a fixed accommodation for their treatment. "They were constantly removed before the evening from the place which in the morning was fixed for their reception" while the colonel's utmost effort could not secure a sufficient body of cavalry (Webb's memorandum to D. R. S. 19th July). Sindia's agent fawned upon the British Resident and pleaded remissness to utter breakdown of the Government. These insincere protestations were however contradicted by the overt acts of Sindia himself. He appointed Sarji Rao Ghatge as his Minister, an avowed enemy of the English, to the supersession of Vital pant. (Webb's letter of 15th August) and maintained Holkar's Vakil in his camp during a period of active warfare. Bapuji Sindia, his general enlisted himself in the service of Holkar (19th August) while his armed preparations and the march towards Bhopal revived the apprehension of a renewed war (L. 19th).

A great danger now faced the British (October 15—November 13). Holkar's attempt to storm Delhi failed but he swept through the Doab. The Universal disaffection against the British seemed now to coalesce and envelop the British in an over-whelming disaster. Even in this situation Wellesly's temper failed to rise equal to the crisis; some bold stroke of policy was needed to turn Sindia's enmity into friendship but the Governor General would not swerve from the policy he had adumbrated in his despatch of 11th June to Webb. His policy was inflexible and therefore proved to be utterly imbecile. He disregarded the unmistakable signs of Sindia's disaffection and defection and clung fast to the belief that Sindia's

fidelity was unshaken. "The Governor General" wrote His Excellency's Secretary to Webb, on 5th November "was not disposed to deduce from any of the circumstances stated above in the despatch, conclusions unfavourable to the credit of that chieftain's fidelity to his alliance with the British Government". Regarding the continuance of Holkar's Vakil and Sindia's March towards Hussaingabad which had greatly agitated the Resident, the Governor General stated specifically that "it is desirable that Holkar's Vakil should be required to quit the camp of Sindia and you (the Resident) should take every proper opportunity of urging the dismissal of that Vakil but it is not His Excellency's desire that your remonstrance upon that subject should proceed to the extent of declaring the alternative of Vakil's continuance in the camp to be a dissolution of alliance or even of irritating the mind of Sindias' ". On the subject of Sindia's march to Hussaingabad, the Governor General considered it to be fraught with great danger. "It was favourable", the Secretary continued in course of the letter "to the renewal of a confederacy between the Raja of Berar and Daulat Rao Sindia". The Secretary added that "the communication of intelligence from Elphinstone (Nagpur) justified a confident belief that Raja Raghuji Bhonsla is disposed to take advantage of any opportunity favourable to the prosecution of hostilities against the British power..... The disposition of Sarji Rao Ghatge..... is known to be in the utmost degree inimical to the interests of the alliance. Besides, Venkoji Bhonsla, brother of Raghuji..... might take advantage of Sindia's march to Hussaingabad to accomplish a meeting with that Chieftain and..... might succeed in overcoming the reluctance (of Sindia)..... to a combination of his interests with those of Yeshwant Rao Holkar". For these reasons, the Secretary continued, "it is extremely desirable that Sindia should be dissuaded from prosecuting his march to Hussaingabad or at least all communication between Sindia's army and that of the Raja of Berar and especially, a meeting between Sindia and Venkoji should be avoided. But as any severity and importunity of remonstrance is calculated to irritate his mind..... the Governor General was determined to abstain from the measure of addressing a letter of remonstrance to Sindia" and he considered it more expedient to lay down a plan by which "Sindia would be disposed and enabled to act according to the true spirit and intent of the alliance". To achieve this object it was suggested that "the authority of Daulat Rao Sindia should be established in the Province of Malwa..... and his military power invigorated but to that extent only which was necessary for the preservation of (his) authority and for the purpose of enforcing payment of the just claims of tribute from such of the Chieftains of Hindustan as have not been absolved from their connection with Sindia's Government by the operation of the 9th article of the treaty of Surje Arjungaon". The Governor General also offered to aid him on his return to Ujjain with funds for the establishment of a military force. But even this limited assistance was made conditional on the removal of Ghatge from the position of Minister. "The Governor General" wrote his Secretary "was so entirely convinced of the depravity and wickedness of Ghatge and of the hostility of his disposition to the British Government that His Excellency will never consent to afford to Sindia the proposed assistance while that obnoxious person continues to influence his counsels in such a manner as to be enabled to control the application of that pecuniary aid". In other words Sindia was asked to sacrifice his minister in return for the establishment of his authority and the equipment of

a military force. Never could a grosser miscalculation be made. In the first place, Sindia's authority over Malwa was not broken down. Secondly he was already in possession of a large army, which he was leading towards Bhopal. But vanity had entirely warped and clouded Wellesley's judgment. He displayed an utter incapacity to see men and events beneath the surface and analyse them with precision. Sindia's Minister juggled and completely deluded the Governor General.

During the month of November, Sindia's attitude became more menacing. Knit in a close alliance with Bhonsla he began to march through the former's territories in the direction of Chauragarh; various alarming reports now spread abroad. The Resident reported to Fort William Sindia's designs on Bundel Khand (L. 15th November) while Ambaji Ingle's letter revealed the plan of a projected confederacy consisting of Holkar, Amir Khan, Ambaji and Sindia for the overthrow of the British. (L. 12th November) Dark shadows of an impending storm loomed over the horizon. But two simultaneous victories won over Holkar at Dig on 13th November and at Farukkabad on the 17th November dispelled the gathering clouds and restored the waning English prestige. Holkar was swept back with his cavalry across the Jumna into the Bharatpur territory and the English commenced the siege of Dig. The November victories again inflated Wellesley who reasserted his commanding tone and sounded a dire warning to Sindia. "Sindia" wrote His Excellency's Secretary, on 4th December, "should afford the only demonstration of a pacific spirit.....by retiring with his troops within the limits of his own territories. The British Government would not be induced by promises and professions to abandon the effectual means.....of immediately repressing and avenging any hostile attempt on the part of Daulat Rao Sindia and the Raja of Berar". The Governor General again expressed his strong detestation of Sarji Rao Ghatge and intimidated Sindia by saying that "he must be held responsible for all Ghatge's acts and that in any case, any hostility provoked by Ghatge against the British Government would be retaliated upon Sindia". This outpouring of indignation was attended with the stereo-typed bait of territorial gain. As Edmonstone wrote "notwithstanding his total inactivity in the war and the doubtful tenor of his late conduct.....the British Government was still disposed to afford the assistance and to perform its promise of placing in his hands a considerable portion of the territory conquered from Yeshwant Rao Holkar provided that (his) counsels should be regulated by a spirit of amity and alliance" (M. IV 454). This angry utterance did not cow down Sindia to submission. On the other hand, it sunk the sense of his humiliation deeper into his mind while it encouraged the Acting Resident to a farther deed of insolence. As early as the 15th November the Resident had demanded in insolent and provocative words the explanation of Sindia's intercourse with the Raja of Berar and the object of his advance through the territories of Bhonsla (L. 15th November). Wellesley's letter of the 4th December increased still farther the arrogance of the Resident. He demanded the immediate dismissal of his Minister Sarje Rao Ghatge on the alternative of his withdrawal from camp within the space of two days (L. 26th December). The result was on the next night that of the 27th December "the guard attached to the tent containing the Tusha Khana articles of the Residency was surprised and overpowered by a large body of plunderers while every person near the tent was wounded and murdered" and a sum of 12,000 Rupees was carried off as booty. This violent attack did not

stand alone ; Sindia plundered the Peshwa's territory of Saugor while his emissary. Sakharan Pandit intrigued in Hyderabad.

Sindia's misconduct called forth stern chastisement, but the Governor-General was too powerless to deal effectively with these serious affronts to the British authority. He overlooked the devastation of Saugor by Sindia, while he did not suspect Sindia's complicity in the violent attack. In a letter to his brother Arthur Wellesley; 24th January, the Governor General recommended the withdrawal of Col. Haliburton's forces from their advanced position and stated farther that " no questions now depend either on the courts of Doulal Rao Sindia or of the Raja of Berar which appear to menace an interruption of the subsisting relations with these powersThe events of war in the Hindustan and the Deccan have compelled them to return to a sense of their obligation towards the British Government ". The protracted war was telling upon the already depleted treasury and now compelled the Governor-General to swallow the insult. Mr. Jenkins the hot headed Acting Resident at the Court of Sindia, however did not take any lesson from the events. He demanded " ample satisfaction from the Maharaja ", for the outrage of the 27th December " the discovery and delivery into his hands the authors and instigators of the outrage " and held repeatedly the threat of quitting camp unless Sindia commenced his journey to Ujjain.

Then Sindia's wrath exploded, on the 25th January the Resident's camp was mercilessly pillaged by the Pindaris ; all articles and valuables including even the writing implements were either destroyed or carried away. " Doctor Wise and Lieutenant Green were seriously wounded ". " The loss of all articles of apparel and defence and the number of the wounded people, placed the Resident in the most deplorable situation ". (L. 26th January). As Jenkins wrote pathetically: " The British Residency has become a degrading spectacle to a camp by which it was held in the utmost veneration and respect (L. 20th February). our camp equipage, is reduced to a single tent which occupies a small corner of Sindia's equipment and in this situation we are exposed to the derision of the plunderers ". To crown his misery he was made virtually a prisoner. As he himself wrote " I cannot consider myself bound by any obligation which does not exist to an absolute prisoner nor do I consider myself to enjoy the security which such a person usually enjoys ". Would the " Royal Tiger " which stalked about in the majestic solitude of Fort William look on, while the honour of the British Residency was being shamelessly trampled down ? One would expect that the mailed fist of Wellesley would now tear aside the cob web of Sindian diplomacy and strike the Maratha chieftain violently down. It is however with bewildering surprise that one reads the Governor General's sentiments conveyed to Col. Close. " The tenor of Mr. Jenkins despatch " wrote the Governor General's Secretary on 24th February " has satisfied His Excellency's mind that Daulat Rao Sindia had no concern in the outrage committed upon the baggage of the Acting Resident and His Excellency entertains considerable doubt whether that outrage was instigated or abetted even by Sarji Rao Ghatge ". " The Governor General ", the despatch continued " was convinced that Daulat Rao Sindia is personally anxious to maintain the relations of amity..... with the British Government and that the general disposition of the officers and army of that Chieftain is adverse to the policy of engaging in hostilities with the British power and although the Governor General entertains no doubt of the hostility of Sarji Rao Ghatge's disposition, His Excellency is unwilling to believe that even his

influence is sufficient to overcome the general sentiment of war which is stated to prevail in the mind of Sindia". The pomposity of his grandiloquent utterances was now proved as utterly hollow to the Indian world.

He did not even indulge in a thunderous denunciation of Sindia but tamely acquiesced in the outrage with a feeble protest. To such a depth of degradation had the "greatest statesman that had ever been in India" sunk. The Governor General, of course, "deemed it necessary to demand a full explanation of that extraordinary act of violence, ample reparation and atonement for it". But he was still resolved to pursue that system of pacific measures towards that Chieftain described in despatches of the 5th November and 22nd December. Col. Close was therefore "directed to impress upon the mind of Sindia a due sense of the amiable and pacific nature of the designs of the British Government a confident belief of our solicitude for the restoration of vigour, efficiency and prosperity to his declining dominion" it is almost incredible to think that the masterful Lord of Company's possessions at whose fiat Kings and princes trembled on their throne would thus grovel before an Oriental prince who was a mere lieutenant of the Peshwa. The fact is "The Tiger" was brought to bay. •

Sindia had collected a large army consisting of 18 battalions of infantry, 26,000 cavalry including Pindaris, and 140 guns; his march from Burhanpur to Saugor and his military operations were ere long causing rumblings of War. The British Commander-in-Chief was locked up at this time with his forces in a most obstinate fighting before the fortress of Bharatpur. Two determined assaults made on the fortress had been beaten back with heavy loss. Besides, Wellesley's ceaseless annexations and conquests had ere long awakened throughout India a general spirit of unrest and disaffection which might easily break out in a general rising. Wellesley was therefore compelled to give way. But the cup of his disgrace was not yet full. Sindia laid waste the city of Saugor and destroyed the Fort (end of February), and then commenced his march towards Bharatpur with the declared object of offering mediation between the English and Holkar and restoring peace between them. He reached Sabalgarh on the 29th March and then sent his minister Sarji Rao at the head of a considerable Cavalry to the camp of Holkar (L. 29th March). The vile reptile which had been scotched in the late war had now turned into a dangerous dragon. Powerless Sindia had assumed a dominating role—the position of a supreme arbiter. The Governor General was now absolutely helpless; instead therefore of taking up cudgel against Sindia, he reprimanded the Resident at the Court of Sindia for abdicating his functions and remarked "it has not appeared to me by the tenor of the despatches written subsequently to the plunder of the British Camp that Daulat Rao Sindia was disposed to obstruct the functions of the British Resident or to deny the marks of attention due to your representative characterIt would, therefore have been more conformable to His (Excellency's) wishes if you had used every effort to replace your losses immediately after the Commission of the outrage.....A detachment of troops will probably be necessary for the protection of articles.....You will demand from D. R. S. permission for the advance of such detachment and you will generally require from him (D. R. S.) every practicable assistance in restoring the Residency to its former condition" (L. 24th February). Alas! the British Resident was called upon to invoke the favour of that very power that had reduced him to abject ignominy and wretchedness. The incident of the atrocious outrage was still uppermost in the

Governor General's mind. He therefore wrote "whatever questions may require discussion with Sindia", "the outrage committed upon the British Residency supercedes every other consideration. The Governor General deems it to be absolutely necessary.....to require from D. R. S., a public and formal atonementbut he will not consider the actual discovery of the perpetrators of outrage, the recovery of the plundered property or the payment of its value to constitute indispensable branches of the required atonement.....(His) Excellency will be satisfied with a public declaration and with the delivery of a letter" stating that the outrage was unauthorized. And the Governor General further directed the Resident to "avoid any harsh or irritating language in making the representation which is always undignified and inconsistent with true policy". Under the influence of mighty events in Europe, the Governor General had seen the vision of a pax Britannica from cape Comorin to the Sutlej. It now appeared to be the phantasy of an intoxicated brain. His desire to placate Sindia surpassed all bounds of decency. Directing the Resident to quit Camp in the event of Sindia's non-compliance with this modest requisition, the Governor General told Jenkins "you should signify to the Maharaja.....that the departure of the British representative.....is totally unconnected with any hostile designs on the part of the British Government.....that the British Government will continue disposed to maintain the relations of peace while D. R. S., shall abstain from any acts of aggression against the British Government or any of its allies....." The Governor General also expressed his desire to satisfy many of Sindia's grievances—his claim for a sum of money from the collections of Chamargunda, Jamgaon and Powagar, (2) transference of Dholpur, Bari, etc., on the termination of hostilities, (3) the deletion of the name of Raja of Jodhpur from the list of tributaries. But the most significant of his gestures to pacify Sindia was his announcement to the "Maharaja to declare in plain terms under a written instrument transmitted to Lord Lake whether your Highness now proposes to dispute the validity of any of the treaties which you have already solemnly recognised, particularly whether you propose to dispute the validity of the treaty between the British Government and the Rana of Gohad". (M. IV. p. 496).

The Governor-General waived even his demand of a public and formal atonement in his letter of the 22nd April on receipt of Sindia's letter in which he said in cold formal words "The persons who have presumed to be guilty of such disrespect and improper proceedings towards the gentlemen of the Residency, shall be rebuked". (M. IV 526). These words were considered to be a sufficient reparation and Wellesley expressed his warm approbation of Sindia's conduct in words which may be quoted, "I have resolved to afford to your Highness and to the world an additional proof of my disposition to confirm the bonds of amity and alliance with Your Highness's Government by accepting your Highness's letter as a sufficient satisfaction for the insults and outrages and by authorizing the Resident to proceed to the adjustment of all depending questions upon the basis of the treaties of peace and allienace" (M. IV. 528).

These concessions, however, came too late ; for before these letters had arrived, Sindia had thrown off all masks of amity, he had sent his minister Sarji Rao at the head of a considerable body of cavalry to Bharatpur (L. 7th April) enlisted Bapuji Sindia once more in his service (L. 14th April) and on the 15th April effected his

union with Holkar. During the space of full one year Sindia had juggled, faced Janus-like both the English and Holkar. He now broke out into open rebellion. The failure of four gigantic assaults on Bharatpur and the offer of lenient terms to Raja Ranjit Singh broke completely the spell of English arms and encouraged Sindia to open enmity by linking his fortunes with Holkar. The Commander-in-Chief demanded his withdrawal with his army to a distance of fifty coss and separation from the forces of Holkar (L. 24th April) or "the British Resident was to be sent back under proper escort." Sindia had thrown down the gauntlet and was not to be browbeaten to submission by empty threats. He did not pay the least heed to the Commander-in-Chief's words. On the other hand, in perfect unconcern the united armies began to move menacingly like a storm cloud. The Resident became seriously concerned for his own safety; he himself wrote pathetically to Martindell "it was in agitation to deliver myself and all other gentlemen of the Residency into the hands of Holkar" and in utter desperation the Resident began to hatch plans of escape in concert with Martindell (Jenkins's letter to Martindell).

The Welleslian system had now crumbled to pieces. The Marquis had been saved in his previous gambles with fate by the glitter of Arthur Wellesley's and Lake's sword. That magic was now gone; the Raja of Jaipur refused supplies to the British army and an anti-British confederacy consisting of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Udaipur Rajas seemed to spring into life (Sturrock's letter to Malcolm 26th June). The Resident was again subjected to insult on 14th July for repeating Lake's requisition of his dismissal. As the days of Wellesley's pro-consulship drew to a close, an ever-increasing gloom encircled him but already a faint gleam of light began to break through the darkness. This was the inevitable discord and disunity among the Indian princes which has been the bane of Indian life. In the middle of July, a palace revolution overthrew the ascendancy of Sarji Rao and restored Ambaji Inglia to power (Jenkins to Close 7th July). This was the first premonition of a coming rapture between Sindia and Holkar. In July the two Maratha Chieftains, however, marched majestically leagued in arms with the British Resident a prisoner in their train. The latter had suspended his functions, yet Sindia would not set him free. Lake's remonstrances and threats fell flat. Wellesley thereupon took the final step of addressing to D. R. S. a letter reinforcing C.-in-C.'s demand for the dismissal of Jenkins. The letter was interwoven with sentiments of cordiality but concluded with a threat. "Your Highness must be satisfied that the alternative of war or peace now rests with Your Highness. No demand has been made upon you nor will any demand be advanced by the British Government beyond the limits of the treaty of peace but no concession can be granted inconsistent with the engagement" (M. IV. p. 606). This was the last pronouncement made by Wellesley and it was of a piece with his former utterances. It revealed that the G. G. had had no other string to his diplomatic bow than alternate bluff and flattery. His overconfidence in the superiority of British arms had blinded him to all sense of realities. He failed to understand Sindia's sentiments until it was too late. Forgetting entirely that moderation to a beaten enemy constituted the essence of political wisdom he imposed a harsh treaty upon the heir of Mahadji who was hurled by one stroke from a position of eminence down to the dust. The occupation of Gwalior and Gohud and the release of a number of tributary Rajas from their allegiance to him deprived him of his virtual independence. The incorporation of a subsidiary clause in the treaty acted as a still greater source of irritation. The

heir of Mahadji naturally smarted when he was called upon to enter the circle of the dependent chiefs and vassals of the British. But Wellesley, could not for a moment believe that the young Maharaja could entertain any ill feeling against the British. He became obsessed with the idea that Sindia was solicitous by every motive of ambition, interest and revenge for the extinction of Holkar's power. The fact of Sindia's dissatisfaction against the British dawned on him only when it was too late, when he could neither come out of the war nor pacify Sindia on honourable terms. Notwithstanding this obesity of intellect, the pompous assertion would be made by his biographer: "Wellesley was endowed with extraordinarily clear insight into the realities of the Situation". Wellesley's mind was not practical and positive but speculative and imaginative. "He judged aloof, it has been even said in doctrinaire fashion, so rigorously repressing any approach other than servile and subordinate that enlightenment could come to him only within strict limits" (Thompson and Garrett, 216). It was in consequence of this limitation of his character that he wanted to compress within seven years the work of two generations. The result was that his career in India which had begun with a blaze of glory closed amid the thud and clash of the system which he represented.

When therefore Cornwallis took over the charge of the administration in his failing health, he was confronted with a very gloomy situation, political, economic and military. Most distressing was the financial situation. The Government stood on the verge of bankruptcy. As Cornwallis wrote "Regular troops under Lake, the pay of which amounted to five lacs per month, are little short of five months and many of the public departments on which any movements of your armies depends, still more in arrears, irregular troops are a drain upon the treasury of near six lacs per month" (Cornwallis's letter to the Court of Directors). Added to this the financial credit of the Company had also been taxed to the utmost. As Cornwallis wrote to Castlereagh, August 1st, 1805 "Wellesley has borrowed 20 lacs of the vizier and has written to press him for more; our credit has been tried to the utmost at Benares and other places" (Ross, III, 534). To make the situation worse, Cornwallis could expect nothing for the next two months from the Collectors and "our only dependence is on the small supply of bullion sent from England" (Ross, III, 540). "It is in vain for us to conceal from ourselves that our finances are at the lowest ebb and literally we have not the means of carrying on the ordinary business of Government" (Ross III 545). "Our treasury", Cornwallis continued in another letter "is completely exhausted and I am reduced to the necessity of stopping the treasure destined for China". If the financial condition was so desperate, the political situation was equally grave. The allies, *e.g.*, the Nizam, the Peshwa and Bhonsla were utterly disaffected. The Nawab and the Zemindars of Oudh were chaffing at the loss of their old position. Moreover, the wide conquests made by Wellesley were in disorganisation. As Cornwallis wrote to Lake, August 30th, "I can not exactly define, in the multiplicity of Cessions and conquests what may be considered actually or what may be regarded virtually as our territory, I am sorry to find that the States, intimately connected with us.....the Peshwa and Nizam.....possess no fund or troops.....anarchy and disaffection prevail Universally throughout their dominion.....The Raja of Berar and other chiefs who have suffered great deprivation can certainly entertain no friendly disposition towards us and unless a great change can be effected in the minds of the natives of India, I cannot look forward with any sanguine hope to the

establishment of (that) happy and permanent peace". Faced with the sullen discontent of the allies and complete financial break-down, Cornwallis decided to make up matters with Sindia on his own terms lenient though they were. But he announced to the Court of Directors, August 9th, that accommodation with Sindia was not to be "attended with a loss of our honour or sacrifice that would be injurious to the national character". "I deeme it", (he wrote pointedly in this letter), "to be incumbent on me to be prepared to resist his demands, if they should prove to be found on claims that are inadmissible". It will thus be seen that a peaceful policy was forced upon the noble Earl by the very circumstances of the case and that the honest Englishman who was driven to accept the heavy burdens of Office only by a compelling sense of duty to his country, has been unjustly assailed with an undeserved severity. It is too often forgotten that Cornwallis was the victim of circumstances which had been created by his predecessor. It has been shown how Wellesley had failed either to extricate the Resident from the clutches of Sindia or to punish the shameless plunder of the Residency. And it has been disclosed that Wellesley himself shrunk from armed hostilities with Sindia. Still the British writers on Indian history would wax eloquent on Wellesley's achievement and hold Cornwallis responsible for the loss of British prestige. These statements are entirely wide of the mark. This is what may be said to be robbing Peter to pay Paul. The foisting of the indiscretion and failure of Wellesley on his successor is most unfair. Two particular instances however (1) withdrawal of British protection from the Raja of Jaipur, Jodhpur and other Chieftains of Rajputana and (2) surrender of Gwalior and Gohud are cited as evidences of "his going too far in his desire for peace". But from what has been shown it will be clear that this charge too is unfounded. It has been disclosed that Wellesley himself re-opened the question of Gwalior and Gohud with Sindia, he had also expunged the name of the Jodhpur Raja from the list of tributaries while he declared to Cornwallis that the Raja of Jaipur too had forfeited all claims to British protection (Ross III 535). So Cornwallis gave legal sanction and fulfilment to what Wellesley had begun. His views on the release of the British Resident have also been misunderstood. What he meant by his instructions to Lake (Ross III 548) was that the release of the British Resident need not be made the stake for war nor an indispensable preliminary to the conclusion of the treaty but was to be its necessary sequel.

The Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar

[By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)]

By the middle of 1771 the eyes of the Directors were opened to the sad state to which the dewany provinces had been reduced particularly when compared with the ceded districts which were under the direct administration of the Company. The Directors were convinced that they must give up the dual system and assume full responsibility for the administration of the provinces for which the Company stood in the position of dewan. On the 28th August, 1771, the Court of Directors signed the famous despatch in which they ordered the Governor and Council of Bengal "to stand forth as dewan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." Cartier was recalled and Warren Hastings was appointed as Governor of Bengal to inaugurate the change and introduce a new system. How the new policy was to be given effect to was not mentioned by the Directors who left the planning out of the new system entirely to the men on the spot. The despatch reached Calcutta on the 14th April, 1772, the day after Hastings assumed office as Governor. Exactly a month later, on the 14th May, 1772, the Governor and Council of Bengal came to a decision as to the "Constitutional ground work of all their subsequent proceedings". It was settled that the lands were to be let out to revenue farmers for a period of five years. A committee of Circuit consisting of the Governor and four members of the Council was to be appointed to visit the principal districts and form the settlement. The Supervisors were to be designated Collectors. In each district an Indian Officer called the diwan was to be appointed to assist and check the Collector.

It is not proposed to discuss here whether the decision to form the revenues was a wise one or whether the five years' settlement was a success. It is only proposed to describe the work done by the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and to bring to light the economic data about the district which may be gleaned from the proceedings of the Committee at Krishnagar.

When the Committee commenced its proceedings at Krishnagar on the 10th June, 1772, Mr. Jacob Rider, Collector of Nadia, laid before them a hustabood or a detailed statement of the revenues of the district.¹ Rider had a long acquaintance with Bengal. He had joined the Company's service in 1763 and in 1764 had been appointed Supervisor of Nadia. He was thus, in 1772, ten years in the service of the Company and nearly four years in Nadia. He claimed that the statements submitted by him were as authentic as any that had up to then been published about the revenue of the district. He pointed out that the actual collections fell somewhat short of those statements as the district was considerably depopulated by the famine of 1770. In order however that the revenue might not suffer too heavily he had instituted enquiries which had yielded information that lands had been taken possession of indiscriminately and without authority by ryots of almost every denomination at the commencement of cultivation. This was possible because of the large tracts of waste land in the district. " those ryots who are vigilant enough to get their crops off the ground before the Potwerry has taken cognizance of their labour,

¹ Proc. of the Com. of Circuit at Krishnagar, Vol. I.—Pub. by the Govt. of Bengal 1926, p. 2ff.

escape for ever scrole (sic) free, and those whose lot it is to come within the search of these lesser mofussell collectors, have always contrived by a composition with them to keep this branch of revenue a profound secret from Government." Mr. Rider had imposed rents for these lands. He had also subjected those ryots who had cultivated lands that had become vacant by the mortality of 1770 to the same payments as the original cultivators would have been liable to had they survived the famine.² All this had led to dissatisfaction among the ryots and Mr. Rider was afraid that the peasants might desert, for as a consequence of the famine ryots were fewer and lands were plenty. Besides desertion was being encouraged by the practice of allowing migrating ryots to possess lands at a rate 4 annas to 8 annas less per bigha than what was paid by the fixed inhabitant.³ Mr. Rider, therefore, requested the Committee to consider whether the ryots could not be relieved of this back rent. He pointed out that the cultivator actually tilled half the land for which he had a pattah. The poverty of the soil rendered it necessary for a cultivator who could till ten bighas to possess twenty bighas, "the land not yielding for more than three years he makes use of these twenty begers alternately, half for three years the other the while laying waste tho' fattening for its cussession to the place."⁴ He was of opinion that "as things are circumstanced.....the present mode of sale appears to be the most eligible method of exploring and establishing the present value of the lands."⁵

The "hustabood" submitted by Mr. Rider showed the district of Nadia divided into 50 parganas yielding the total revenue of S. R. 12,66,266.⁶ Seventy-eight ghats are mentioned in the district and the traffic passing the ghats brought in S.R. 44,250.⁷ The 145 hats of the district yielded S.R. 30,127.⁸ Taxes at the hats were levied on bullocks passing and repassing the hat with grains, etc. (Chalanta), on "ryots that reside in the market", and on people who brought various articles to sell at the bazar day. Another big article of the sair jama was the custom on marriages which yielded S.R. 33,183. The total of the sair jama of the district was S.R. 1,23,660.⁹

The Committee recorded their opinion that it appeared that the "hustabood" was continued at the same amount at which it had stood previous to the famine, and that a collection on this basis would prove oppressive to the ryots and prejudicial to government in the end. There should consequently be a considerable diminution of the amount in the current year's settlement.¹⁰

The Committee were of opinion that encouragement should be given to the ryots for the cultivation of waste lands. Ryots desiring to cultivate waste lands should apply to the farmers who should grant pattahs specifying the amount of land and the rent which the ryot had agreed to pay for it. But if the ryot should cultivate such lands without sanction, he would be liable to pay according to the usage of the part of the country in which the land lay.¹¹

The Committee realised that the tax on marriage was iniquitous. They calculated to show that together with the tax levied by government and the fees paid to the Kazis and the priests who officiated at the marriage, the total of fees paid on

² Op. cit. p. 3.

³ Op. cit. p. 5.

⁴ On cit. p. 3.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 5.

⁶ Statements I & VI op. cit. pp. 6 & 9.

⁷ Statement No. 4, op. cit. p. 8.

⁸ Statement No. 5, op. cit. p. 8.

⁹ Statement No. 3, op. cit. p. 7.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 12.

¹¹ Op. cit. pp. 12-13.

each marriage amounted at least to six rupees. Apart from the oppressive mode in which these dues were exacted, they tended to discourage population which was of primary importance after the famine. The Committee resolved that "all the fees and taxes of this article" should be abolished.¹³

Taxes under the head "Bazee Jama" had already been abolished in 1771 by order of the Council of Revenue. The Committee confirmed this and resolved that farmers should not make any demands on this account from the ryots.¹³

In the district there were 41 zemindary offices for making the collections, each office costing on the average Rs. 200 to maintain.¹⁴ These were not only costly, but so many engines of oppression. The Council had already resolved to abolish the Zemindary Chaukies. The Committee now ordered the immediate abolition of those in the district of Nadia. "All the officers of the collections both on the part of government and the Zemindar" were to be recalled from the farmed lands and the farmers were to pay their rents direct to the "Sudder Cutchery". The Collecting officers were also recalled from the Khas lands and their wages abolished.¹⁵ Since the "Huddes Serinjamy" or the charges of collections were abolished, the farmers were allowed a commission of 5% on their jama for the expenses of collection.¹⁶

On the 12th June, 1772, the proposals that had come in for farming the lands were considered.¹⁷ The proposers claimed a deduction of 2 lakhs 10 thousand rupees, from the "hustabood" of the previous year. This was in the opinion of the Committee a sum far exceeding the real loss to the revenues caused by the famine. The Committee therefore resolved that "they be not accepted, and that in order to ascertain the true value of the lands in their present state the terms be put up to publick auction."¹⁸ The following abstract of the jama of the district together with an estimate of the "jama" of each pargana was published at the "cutchery" for the information of the bidders.¹⁹

Hustabood of 1178	12,66,266
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Deductions—

Bazee Jama & Haldaree	33,183	5	0
Ghats abolished	44,250	12	0
Cossa Dalali	1,081	4	0
(Duty paid by cloth brokers to move in that occupation) Birtee	1,741	4	0

(Free gift of hat merchants)

Total deductions	80,256	9	0
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11,86,010

Increase	15,961
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(On account of exemptions being abolished.)

Hall Jama	12,01,971
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¹³ Op. cit. p. 13.

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 13.

¹⁵ Statement No. 8— op. cit. pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 13.

¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 14.

¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 14.

¹⁹ Op. cit. pp. 15-16.

²⁰ Op. cit. p. 16.

The Committee was willing to settle with existing zemindars and talukdars where possible. The talukdars of Bhowanipur, Jaipur, Deranny, Sultanpur and Aujerah represented that they had always paid the revenues of their taluks immediately to government and that if their lands passed into the hands of farmers their rights as talukdars would be infringed and they would be subjected to many hardships and inconveniences, and that they were willing to agree to settlements which the Committee should think proper. The Committee resolved that their taluks should be exempted from the public sale and that a "hustabood" should be immediately prepared according to which the revenues were to be settled.²⁰

The Committee however could not agree to the proposals of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bahadur of Nadia. On the fourth day of the public auction the Maharaja laid his proposals before the Committee for the "bundobast" of the parganas of Nadia. Exclusive of "Saranjamy" expenses he proposed to pay 8,25,001 for the Bengali year 1179, rising to 9,25,001 for the year 1183. The Committee resolved that as they expected a larger sum from the public auction that was then going on and as the faith of the government had been pledged to the farmers who had already been given leases by being the highest bidders at the public auction, the proposals of the Maharaja could not be accepted.²¹ An annual allowance of 2 lakhs was settled on him as compensation.²²

After ten days' auction the settlement of the lands was finally concluded and the leases executed by the farmers and the government.²³

The amalnamas or the leases that were now given to the farmers had been drawn up afresh.²⁴ The terms of the lease show the anxiety of the Committee for the protection of the ryots from undue exaction, and the encouragement of cultivation. Farmers were not to demand more from the ryots than had been fixed. They were not to levy any fresh tax or receive nazar or selamy. The lease ran, "should it be known that you exact more, you will not only have to repay the ryots, the su(m) which you have so exacted but also to make a proportional forfeit to government and if it is represented that you a second time ar(e) guilty of any oppression on the ryots your farm shall then be made khas and you shall pay a fine to government".²⁵ Moreover government officers were appointed to act as checks on clandestine collections by farmers.²⁶ Losses to the revenue due to draught or desertion were to be borne by the farmers. "On the other hand," ran the lease, "if by promoting cultivation and agriculture you can by any legal means reap any advantage from your farm you have nothing to pay to government exclusive of the malgauzzary that advantage will be your own".²⁷ The farmers were enjoined to give "information of hidd(en) wealth or of effects es(c)heatable to government..... as well as of all murders thefts and robberies, which may be committed" and to "make a timely report of everything that may occur" within the limits of each division.²⁸

²⁰ Op. cit. p. 19.

²¹ Op. cit. pp. 19-20.

²² Op. cit. pp. 23 & 25.

²³ Op. cit. p. 20.

²⁴ Op. cit. pp. 16-18.

²⁵ Article 11, op. cit. p. 17.

²⁶ Article 16, op. cit. p. 17.

²⁷ Article 18, op. cit. p. 18.

²⁸ Articles 5 & 68-op. cit. p. 17.

As in the case of farmers, the old leases were torn up and fresh forms of pattahs were prepared for the ryots.²⁹

Lala Dher Singh Roy was appointed dewan of the district of Nadia. Elaborate instructions were issued to him for his guidance.³⁰ In conjunction with the collector he was to collect the Kists and remit them to the Sadar, and also to keep a separate account of the collections.³¹ No sepoy or peon was to be sent by the collector or the dewan into the district "except when the powers of the farmers is insufficient to enforce justice or maintain the peace of the country : in which one person may be sent with a writing under the Company's seal and (signed) by the Collector and yourself. And all circumstances (in) which people have been so sent, you are to register in the awdawlet proceedings. Whenever it is requisite that any person should be sent for ; it must be done through the ijaradar by sending the Tullub Chitty to him requiring him to send the person wanted to you."³² It was laid down that " the mutsuddies or servants of the Collector nor any of their relatives or servants are by no means whatever (to) hold a farm nor to be concerned with the farmer either as his security or otherwise." Similarly no European was to hold a farm in his own name or in the name of another.³³ No one in any way connected with the revenue as to lend money to any of the Zemindars, talukdars, ijaradars or ryots, and Zemindars, talukdars and farmers were not to lend money to the ryots. For the purpose of cultivation " tucavy " was to be advanced to the ryots at the rate of Rs. 2 per cent per month interest. The money was to be recovered in specie and not in kind.³⁴

On the 28th June the work of the Committee at Krishnagar was finished. The total jama for the district settled by the Committee was 10,64,530 for the first year rising to 13,19,695 for the fifth year. It will be observed that the jama fixed for the first year was 2 lakhs less than Rider's hustabood and 1½ lakhs less than the figures published at the Cutchery. Where talukdars had come forward to enter into agreement with the government without concealing the revenue, the idea of farming out had been abandoned and settlement had been made with them. Several vexatious abwabs had been abolished and the farmers' leases and instructions to the dewan³⁵ showed such solicitude for the ryots as to constitute under existing circumstances a veritable Magna Charta for the cultivators.

The hordes of revenue officials who preyed upon the cultivators were recalled from the parganna and it seemed that a more hopeful era had dawned for the ryots. But it was one thing to lay down a rule and quite another thing to have it properly enforced. This was seen within a few days, for on the 9th July the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar received complaints from Mr. Rider against the Amin, Ramjoy Singh " who does everything in his power to confuse and perplex the New Dewan and to render the business of the cutchery as unintelligible as possible " and " who notwithstanding you took so much pains and trouble to form a ryots doul pattah

²⁹ Op. cit. pp. 18-19.

³⁰ Op. cit. pp. 20-22.

³¹ Article 2 op. cit. p. 20.

³² Article 4 op. cit. p. 21.

³³ Article 11 op. cit. p. 21.

³⁴ Article 11 op. cit. p. 21.

³⁵ Article 12 op. cit. p. 21.

³⁶ These were on the lines of the resolutions passed by the Calcutta Committee of Revenue on the 14th May, 1772.

and Kistoobundy, yet the second day after you left this they all came in a body complaining that he was making out their Kistoobundy's greatly beyond what the Committee had given them reasons to expect." The Committee ordered Ramjoy Singh to be dismissed and authorised Mr. Rider and the dewan to appoint a new amin in his place.³⁶

³⁶ Op. cit. pp, 39-40.

Shah Alam's letter to George III.

[By Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D.]

In the "Bengal, Past and Present" of July 1936, Mr. Taifur in his paper on Itisamuddin of Tajpur referred to the letter of Shah Alam which Captain Swinton and the Mirza were to present to the court of St. James. In the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, a manuscript collection of extracts from different histories of the later Mughals, (No. 134), contains what appears to be a carelessly written copy of the letter, with a brief heading "From Shah Alam, King of Hindustan, to the King of the English". It bears no name, neither of the copyist nor of the King, and, curiously enough, is undated. The language is florid and reads more like a petition than a royal letter. Its arrangement is quite unlike any other Mughal letter of the period and most of it is occupied by the conventional praises of God and the Prophet. Except for the names of Ghaziuddin, Clive and General Carnac and the reference to the transfer of the Diwani of Bengal, it might as well have been a model petition of the period. Provenance of the letter is unknown, and the writing differs from all others in the collection.

It may be worth while to give a brief account of the letter as related by Itisamuddin. In reply to the Emperor's request for a military force to be stationed at Allahabad to "protect him from the Marathas and also help him ascend the throne at Delhi", Lord Clive regretted his inability to comply without a "reference to his sovereign". It was accordingly decided to send a representation to George III, and a letter was drafted at Damdama in consultation with Clive, Carnac and George Vansittart but without informing the Council. The Royal Seal was put and it was entrusted to Captain Swinton who was about to leave for England. A sum of a lakh of rupees was sanctioned by the Emperor to be presented to the English King along with the letter. About a week after they had sailed, the Mirza was informed by Swinton that Lord Clive had taken the letter away from him and said that as the money for the present had not arrived from Benares on the date of their departure it was better to wait until next year when he (Clive) himself would come to England and bring the letter with him." After a year and a half Clive came home but the Mirza learnt to his surprise and sorrow that the former had presented the money to the Queen on his own behalf and made no mention of the Imperial letter.

The following is a free translation of the relevant portions of the letter which agrees substantially with what the Mirza says about its contents. "Owing to the treachery and ingratitude of the servants of state, the Kingdom of the House of Timur has fallen on evil days. Through the disloyalty of the people, especially of Ghaziuddin Khan my father, the late Emperor Alamgir attained martyrdom. He was planning to deal similarly with me but this supplicant of God managed to escape and for years was living miserably at Allahabad when Nawab Sabet Jung Bahadur (Lord Clive) and General Carnac presented themselves to this court, and by their unsparing efforts . . . reorganised the affairs of state. They entrusted the affairs of this province of Bengal to the loyal servants of the Kingdom, and have assigned the districts of Kora and Allahabad to the crown for maintaining the

dignity of the Court This supplicant of God is immensely pleased with the services and sincerity of Nawab Sabet Jung Bahadur and General Carnac and all the English officers. It is due to their help and support that I am firmly established at Allahabad. Considering the sincerity of friendship and nobility of heart of my brother in England, I feel confident that he would despatch a force of 5 or 6 thousand English troops to be stationed near me at Allahabad, so that, with Nawab Sabet Jung and General Carnac they may escort this supplicant of God to his capital; Shahjahanabad, and place him on the throne of Hindustan,to which he is the rightful heir. The kindness and generosity that my brother would thus be showing would be recorded for ever on the pages of Time ; every city and country in the world would gratefully remember the King of England, who helped Shah Alam, King of Hindustan, regain his ancestral throne. As a proof of my absolute trust in their friendship and also as a reward of their services to me I have granted the Diwani of the *subahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company, and this, I feel sure, would please my brother in England”.

The administration of Poona under Baji Rao II.

[By Dr. Pratul Chandra Gupta., M.A., Ph.D.]

In 1812, Sir Charles Malet, formerly Resident at Poona, appeared before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. In the course of his evidence, he deposed that Poona was a large and growing village in which "people of all denominations and all professions" flocked from North India, and particularly from the ruined Mughal cities.¹ Malet continued in office at Poona till 1797. Five years later about the time when the Treaty of Bassein was signed, Poona seemed to have grown to a fairly crowded city. Colonel. J. Welsh of the Madras Establishment who was present at Poona in 1803 when Baji Rao was restored, found the city three miles in length and two miles in breadth. He was told that it contained 50,000 houses—a figure which he considered to be untrue.² In 1805, when Mackintosh came to Poona, he was told by Colonel Barry Close, the British Resident, that the population of the city amounted to one lakh.³ The same figure was given by Bishop Heber when he visited Poona, six years after Baji Rao's flight from the city.⁴ The details of the administration of the Peshwa's Capital are lacking. We have only certain stray references in the series of Maratha papers published in the selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwas' diaries and in the Selections from the Peshwa Daftar. Occasionally some information may be found in the writings of the English travelers and the official letters of the servants of the East India Company. Among the official papers mention should be made of two interesting documents. The first is a letter addressed to Mountstuart Elphinstone by Captain Robertson when he occupied Poona after the Peshwa's flight in November 1817. The other is an anonymous work on Maratha Institutions, very likely written by Grant Duff.

The city of Poona was divided into 17 wards called Peths. There was a Chief Police Officer responsible for the maintenance of peace and order, who was also entrusted with certain Judicial duties. The head of the Police mentioned in the despatch of Captain Roberstonk, dated the 20th November 1817, was Baloji Pant Gokhale⁵ who held the same office from the time of Captain Close, if not earlier. When Mackintosh came to Poona in 1805, he noticed that the Police was entrusted to "a military Brahmin of the family of Gokla".⁶ Baloji Pant Gokhale, the chief Police Officer had four assistants—Baloji Pant Kale, Shaboji Rao, Govind Janardan and Vasudeo Pant. Baloji Pant Kale superintended a court for the decision of civil suits of trifling importance. His jurisdiction extended over suits the value of which did not exceed one thousand rupees. An appeal from his decision lay to the chief Police Officer. The second assistant Shaboji Rao was the City Magistrate who investigated all crimes and tried all offenders except political. He decided trifling criminal cases, but all important cases were referred to Baloji Pant Gokhale. The third assistant Govind Janardan was in charge of the watchmen, while Vasudeo Pant was responsible for the prevention of robbery and theft and was placed at the head of the Ramoshis.⁷

¹ Papers relating to East Indian Affairs, 1812, p. 244.

² Welsh. Military Reminiscences, Vol. 1, p. 152.

³ Mackintosh. Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 459.

⁴ Heber's Journal, Vol. 2, p. 208.

⁵ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 305.

⁶ Mackintosh Memoirs Vol. 1, p. 459.

⁷ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 305.

Baloji Pant Gokhale, the chief Police Officer maintained a large establishment. In a Maratha document of the year 1809-10, it is stated that this establishment cost Rs. 106,043-8-0 annually.¹ Nearly the same figures were given by Elphinstone when he wrote that in "Baji Rao's time, 9,000 rupees a month was allowed to the officer who had the charge of the police at Poona".² The number of men appointed amounted to 1024 in 1818. They were placed in parties of four in each of the 251 chaulkis or cross-streets at Poona. They received a salary of five rupees a month. The outskirts of the city were protected by Ramoshis. In 1817, 75 of them were appointed.³

The Poona Government also kept a body of 120 men who patrolled the streets at night. A gun was fired at about 11 O'Clock at night, after which no body was to come out of the house until the next morning. It was the duty of the night watchmen to arrest any person found in the city streets after that hour. This practice was rigidly observed and Tone tells us that even the Peshwa himself was once detained all night for being out in the streets after the gun fire.

Apart from the regular police, there were Karkuns appointed in charge of the wards. Their number varied according to the size of each Peth. A Karkun had the power of settling disputes in the street and deciding trifling quarrels between the inhabitants of his own Peth. His salary varied from ten to thirteen rupees a month besides a small fee from one of the parties. Under the British rule, the office of the Karkun was maintained and his salary was increased to fifteen rupees. But his power was curtailed and he was forbidden to accept any present.⁴

The simplicity and informal way in which Justice was administered at Poona have always surprised the foreign travellers. In 1805 Mackintosh considered it very strange that there was "not a Court of Judicature, nor a Judge in the whole Mahratta dominions."⁵ Some of the Judicial duties however were performed by the Police, but in Poona as well as in all important towns there were a Chief Justice and several other Judges. After the death of Ram Shastri in 1789, Ayya Shastri was appointed as the Nayayadhis.⁶ He did not continue long, but left his office and became a monk.⁷ He was succeeded by Balkrishna Shahstri Tonkekar.⁸ He kept ten or twelve Karkuns and a party of Sebandis. His three assistants were Sada-shiv Pant Bhow, Chinto Pant Deshmukh and Kuchu (?) Pant Mama.⁹

The Government at Poona maintained an establishment for cleaning and watering the streets every day. This was innovation of Baji Rao who levied a special tax from his subjects for this purpose. After the British occupation of the city this establishment was maintained, but the tax was abolished.¹⁰

Inspite of the bad Government of the last Peshwa Poona was a prosperous town. During the early years of Baji Rao his capital had witnessed serious outbreaks of

¹ Satara Rajas and Peshwas' diaries—Vol. V, pp. 282—84.

² Forerest, Official writings of Elphinstone p. 307.

³ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 305.

⁴ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 305.

⁵ Mackintosh Memoirs, Volume I, pp. 459—460.

⁶ Peshwa Daftar Vol. 45. No. 48. Kincaid & Parasinis History of the Maratha people—Appendix.

⁷ Kincaid & Parasinis, History of the Maratha people—Appendix.

⁸ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 305. Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 531.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

riots and street fighting. It had gone through the horrors of Sarje Rao Ghatge's regime and the revolutions effected by the victories of Yashwant Rao Holkar. In 1803, Baji Rao had very little control over the state, the whole of Peshwa's country was in ruins and district round about Poona was depopulated.

But according to the testimony of Colonel Welsh the city recovered very quickly from the effects of political disorders. He saw in the bazars an "innumerable quantity of article of merchandise, the produce not only of India but also of China and Europe." The bazars were "well supplied with musk and water melon, plantains, figs, dates, raisins, mangoes, pomegranates, wood apples, almonds and a great variety of country vegetables." In short, Poona appeared to him, "a place of great wealth" where "all the trade of the empire was concentrated."¹

The maintenance of law and order in Poona has very often praised by foreign writers. Mackintosh commenting on the condition of Poona in 1805, recorded that the police duty in the city "is so easy or so skilfully performed, that notwithstanding the frequent assemblage of men mostly armed, brought together by religious festivals there are few disorders".² Probably this was partly due to the fact that Baji Rao had by special orders prohibited the drinking of liquor by Brahmins. But it does not seem that the practice of drinking wine among the people in general was effectually checked. When Robertson occupied Poona in November 1817, he noticed that the town abounded in gambling houses and considered it advisable to forbid dealers in wine to reside within half a mile of Poona.³

Justice at Poona during Baji Rao's regime was administered badly and the system was open to corruption. But the Police maintained its efficiency to the last. When the British army took possession of the city after the battle of Khadki, very little changes were made and the old police establishment of the Maratha was preserved, even when their empire passed away.

¹ Welsh Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 152.

² Mackintosh Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 459.

³ Sec. Cons. 31 July 1818, No. 308.

A Forgotten dispute regarding the right of a Governor to hold the title of the
Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces.

[By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt.]

Verelst's administration in Bengal (1767-9) has so far been almost totally neglected by historians. In the course of my researches into the history of his Governorship, I have come across in the Ms. Records of the Government of India interesting details regarding an obscure, but highly important dispute between Governor Verelst and Col. Richard Smith, the Commanding Officer in Bengal, regarding their respective claims to the title and privileges of the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency forces. Verelst's dispute with Col. Smith is of importance because of the constitutional issues involved therein.

Verelst was of the opinion that the Governor being the supreme head of the civil as well as military establishments, was, by virtue of his very office, the Commander-in-Chief. In support of this, he urged that the Directors had already laid down in one of their recent letters,¹ ".....our Governor shall be considered as Commander-in-Chief of our forces". While disputing the legality of Col. Smith's action² in summoning courts-martial on his own authority, Verelst claimed³ that it was the Governor who should be regarded as the Supreme Magistrate in all military as well as civil affairs, and that "no servants upon this establishment should tread closer upon the heels of a governor than is expressly authorized by the Court of Directors". Col. Smith was accordingly warned⁴ by the Select Committee that to dispute with the Governor a power which he and his predecessors had hitherto enjoyed would be considered as "an attempt to retrench his prerogative and diminish the influence of his station without reason, without necessity, and to the subversion of all order".

It appears that after considerable discussion in two different meetings of the Select Committee held shortly after Verelst's assumption of office, it had been informally agreed⁵ that the Governor was to be regarded as the Commander-in-Chief, and that Col. Smith was to be called Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. Col. Smith had assented to this arrangement, and it was at his request⁶ that the matter had not been recorded in the minutes. This peculiar compromise was thus humorously described by Mr. Richard Barwell in a letter to his father⁷, "The Title of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Bengal is esteemed a jewel in the cap of your Governor's, as such Mr. V——t was for having the Colonel omit the word "Chief" in the orders he might issue, whilst the Colonel pointed out the absurdity..... This difference of sentiment between the great men was very near productive of an open quarrel, when Mr. V——t bethought him an expedient to which the Colonel

¹ Letter from Court, February 19, 1766.

² Beng. Sel. Com. October 3, 1767.

Letter from Col. R. Smith, September 16, 1767.

³ Beng. Sel. Com. October 13, 1767.

⁴ Letter to Col. R. Smith, October 13, 1767.

⁵ Vide Verelst's minute, July 18, 1768.

⁶ Vide Statement and examination of Mr. C. Russell, July 19, 1768.

⁷ Letter from Mr. R. Barwell to his father, December 9, 1767.

acquiesced; and he is now Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. This ridiculous circumstances has nevertheless created an animosity”.

It may be stated here that the Governor's compliant attitude and want of firmness in this matter was strongly criticised by Clive who wrote⁸ to Verelst from England, “His (Colonel Smith's) last, I should say his first dispute, whether the Governor or the Commanding Officer of the troops ought to have the title of Commander-in-Chief was such an open and audacious attack upon the dignity of your office, that I am surprized you let it pass unnoticed. Had a minute been made of it, he would infallibly have been dismissed the service”.

The compromise was, however, no more than a temporary and verbal understanding, and no attempt was subsequently made to define and demarcate the powers and jurisdiction of the Governor and the so-called Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency. The controversy became acute in April, 1768, when Col. Smith returned to Calcutta and resumed his membership of the Select Committee.

In the Select Committee meeting⁹ of the 27th of April, Col. Smith raised the question as to whether the Governor could send “of himself, at all times, and at all occasions, whatever orders he shall judge necessary to Colonel Smith, or to the Commanding Officer of the Army”. Mr. Floyer submitted that the Governor had the right to issue orders in all ordinary matters “under the control of the Select Committee,” but that orders “with regard to the march of the army or of a considerable detachment, the engaging in any enterprize of warlike preparations, and the entering into treaties” could be issued by the Select Committee alone. Messrs. Verelst, Cartier, and Becher admitted that in all major matters such as war, treaty or peace the Select Committee alone had the right to issue final orders, but they maintained that the Governor ought to be deemed to be the Commander-in-Chief and that, as such, he did possess the authority to issue orders to all commanding officers, including Col. Smith.

The discussion over this question was resumed on the 19th of July¹⁰. Col. Smith presented his own minute on the subject, and in reply to the opinions of the other members, he asserted that the Governor's powers were strictly limited, and that the Select Committee could not invest him with the authority to claim implicit obedience from the commanding officers. He criticized the views of his colleagues as much too vague, and demanded a clear decision on the point under dispute, for, as he rightly pointed out, “in points of military subordination there ought not to be left the smallest room for doubt”.

The Governor thereupon emphatically repudiated “the unmerited censure on the Committee” as well as “the reflection” on his own conduct, as expressed in Col. Smith's minute, and asserted that the Commanding Officer was “struggling to shake off the strongest bond by which he is subjected to the Civil authority”. He closed his long statement on Col. Smith's minute with the challenge, “My determined resolution is to give up the title and authority of Commander-in-Chief at the same time that I quit the reins of government”.

⁸ Letter from Lord Clive, November 7, 1767.

⁹ Beng. Sel. Com. April 27, 1768.

¹⁰ Beng. Sel. Com. July 18, 1768.
Letter to Court, September 13, 1768.

After the Governor's statement was read, Messrs. Floyer, Becher, and Cartier submitted their respective minutes unanimously supporting the Governor's claim to hold the title of Commander-in-Chief. They held that Col. Smith, being the second officer, was bound to obey all such orders from the Governor as the latter by virtue of his station as Commander-in-Chief might issue with the concurrence of the Select Committee.

The discussion being over, the Select Committee decided finally to confirm the Governor's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and resolved that all orders issued by him within the limitation prescribed by them should be implicitly obeyed as the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The Select Committee also invested the Governor with powers to issue such general orders as might be deemed by him necessary and proper for the better regulation of the army, to order detachments, to direct their operations during the course of their services, to appoint subaltern officers, and to correspond with the several commanding officers in the army, wherever they might be stationed. It was, however, agreed that the Governor should remain responsible to the Select Committee, to whom he was at all times to make known the orders he might issue, and that their orders, whenever they might think proper to issue any, should supersede any sent by him alone.

After this resolution was passed, Col. Smith raised the next question as to whether the Governor could on any occasion take command of the army in person. After Messrs. Floyer, Becher and Cartier had expressed their opinions on this question the Select Committee unanimously agreed that upon all occasions the Governor was "to be received at the army, or in the garrisons, with all honours due to a Commander-in-Chief," but that he could not "take upon himself in person the command of the army, or any part of it." Thus, a long drawn out and seemingly futile dispute was brought to an end to the apparent satisfaction of the parties concerned.

arrangements were to continue, whether the extent of the Presidency (of Bengal) should be reduced by forming a Chief Commissionership of Assam or by transferring Bihar to North West Provinces. Questions relating to internal machinery of Government were also referred to them.

The Committee do not seem to have taken their task seriously, at least in the spirit which had inspired the action of the Secretary of State. In their report, they recommended no change except that the Legislative Council of Bengal should be abolished and that Assam should be carved out as a separate province administered by a Chief Commissioner directly under the control of the Governor General. The Committee worked on the assumption that Calcutta must remain the seat of the Supreme Government and so nothing should be done which might in any way reduce the prestige of the Viceroy. Two members, Sir Barle Frere and Mr. Arbuthnot dissented ¹. Sir Stafford Northcote was greatly disappointed, and in his letter to the Chairman of the Committee, ² he hinted on the need of "proper organization of local Governments." He added that the primary question at the time was "the establishment of proper relations between the Supreme and the Presidency Governments." ³ He favoured transference of detail work to the Local Governments in order to give relief to the Government of India. He wrote "I wish to strengthen the Presidency governments for the purpose not of weakening, but of strengthening the Government of India". He wanted a full government for Bengal with a Governor and Council who may be given additional powers in respect of purely Presidency affairs. He emphasised the suitability of Madras system for Bengal and wrote "I think we ought not to refuse it to her for Imperial reasons". The matter was then referred to the Government of India for opinion on alternative proposals which had been put forth on the subject. ⁴ The main question on which the advice of the Government of India was sought were whether Bengal should have a government like that of Madras, or the existing form be continued with direct control by the supreme Government, or even that it be placed under the Government of India with a Deputy Governor as in earlier days. The other question related to the Legislative Council there, whether it should be abolished or retained. At the same time the Government of India was asked to point out whether their recommendations regarding Bengal could be of general application to all the presidencies of India.

The question was threshed out in the Viceroy's Council and the Lt. Governor of Bengal also expressed his views on the subject. ⁵ It is a pity that the other Local Governments were not asked to consider it, and as such we have no expression of their opinion definitely on the general problem at this time.

Excluding Sir. F. Halliday who desired a return to the old conditions when the local governors were left "to do their own work for themselves controlled wholly or chiefly in England," ⁶ no one wished the abolition of the authority of the Governor General in Council. The main issue was how to continue "the two great objects" of maintaining "a great central authority" charged with "superintendence, direction

¹ Report of the Special Committee of India Council, 14 November 1867.

² Letter from Sir S. Northcote to Sir F. Currie, Chairman of the Special Committee, 14 November 1867.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Despatch to the Government of India Public No. 10, 16 January 1868.

⁵ Public Proceedings, 28 March 1868 Nos. 148—163.

⁶ Memorandum By Sir F. Halliday, 16 December 1867 (No. 2 p. 1863, Vol. 49).

and control of the whole civil and military government of India" and preserving "local efforts and local administration" necessary "for all lasting improvements in government and for the greatest development of the different and differing nationalities of India."¹ The conservative statesmen who believed that the British Government in India was standing on the edge of a precipice, desired further strengthening of the powers of the Central Authority or, at least, no change in the existing system. Whereas there were others who, being impressed by the altered situation, were prepared to relax control over the subordinate governments, "for the purpose," as Northcote put it "not of weakening, but of strengthening the Government of India." He favoured this course because he thought it "important for the interests of the people of the Presidencies which are likely to be better attended to," and "for the sake of the Government of India, which is in danger of being overwhelmed with the constantly increasing mass of detail work consequent on its being charged with matters which might safely be left to the Governments of the Presidencies."²

Those who favoured loosening of control included besides the Secretary of State, Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Arbuthnot, Sir Henry Maine, Mr. Tylore, Sir John Strachey, Sir William Mansfield and Mr. Grey, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. They recommended a full government for Bengal and were in favour of withdrawal of the Government of India from a minute control over the details of local administration. They considered it important that the Government of India must confine itself to general supervision and determination of all India affairs. In legislation, they desired the local legislatures to undertake all provincial legislation, the Supreme Council being concerned only with the general laws. Mr. Grey criticising the proposal for the abolition of the Legislative Council of Bengal, argued that the time had come when the "natives of the Province and the English residents have a reasonable claim to be admitted to a share....., a larger share, in framing their Municipal laws, or the laws which are necessary for the ordinary purposes of domestic administration". He held that it was not possible to have any semblance of representative element in the Central Council and so that body must confine itself to "general legislation, such as codes of general substantive law, codes of judicial procedure and other laws suitable for general application," subjects to be "properly carried on by a purely official body." Moreover, he pointed out "it is possible to look forward to a time when a local legislature or some such consultative body as that just asked for by the British Indian Association, shall take part in regulating the expenditure of local taxation. It is not possible, I think, that any agency of that sort can ever be usefully employed in connection with the General Budget of the Empire." He desired the Governor General's Council to abstain from local legislation and suggested that the "North West Province must have a council of its own, and the restrictions imposed by the Indian Council's Act of 1861 on the discretion of Local Councils in local legislation should be waived aside." The Lt. Governor of Bengal opposed the creation of Assam as a chief Commissionership and went to the length of suggesting that the Governor General in Council should be divested of all direct administration as in the case of the chief commissionerships, for that "leads the Government of India insensibly to interfere with the internal administration of the Lieutenant Governorship to a greater extent

¹ Memorandum By Sir Erskine Perry (No. 13, p. 1863 Vol. 49).

² Letter from Northcote to Sir F. Currie, 14 November 1867.

than is necessary or desirable." He hoped to see "a more distinct and definite line established between the general superintendence which a great central authority should exercise, and that freedom of executive authority which should be entrusted with confidence and generosity to Local Governments." He recommended also greater latitude in financial administration.

In the Viceroy's Council there was sharp division of opinion. Sir William Mansfeld favoured relaxation of control and the creation of Bengal as a Governor's province with a Council but on the condition that the Governor did not possess right of direct correspondence with the Secretary of State, as in the case of Madras. He was for retaining the local Legislative Council as it had "done local legislation well, the debates of that Council being a safety valve for the expression of opinion, native and British, in Calcutta on local and municipal matters." Mr. G. N. Taylor was even prepared to permit the right of direct correspondence as well. He did not favour the separation of Assam, though he would not oppose the transference of Bihar to North West Provinces; if necessary, as both had common language. Sir Henry Maine and Mr. Massey also supported relaxation of control. They deprecated the abolition of local legislature. Sir Henry advocated this comparative independence of Local Governments in order to relieve the Government of India from that mass of work which had fallen to it owing to new demands for "good, precise and politic government."

This viewpoint was vehemently combated by the Viceroy, Sir Mortimer Durand and Sir William Muir. They stood for no change in the Government of Bengal or in its relations with the Government of India. Lawrence thought the local Legislature unnecessary. He was for giving powers of summary legislation to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal as in the Punjab. He supported the plan of separating Assam and placing it under a Chief Commissioner. He wished to preserve "the office of the Governor General in an effectively powerful position" so that uniformity could be secured, the resources of the empire could be husbanded and the public credit be maintained. Sir H. M. Durand was more emphatic in denouncing these proposals for limiting the authority of the Central Government. He considered general supervisory control over administration, "and direct and positive control over the finances and general legislation of India" by the Government of India essential in the interest of the empire. He was right in regarding such control by the Central Government necessary in the absence of "all control by the people."

The opposition of the Viceroy and his supporters prevented any change being made in the constitution of the Government of Bengal. Not even any immediate relaxation of control was effected. All proposals for freeing the Local Governments from stringent financial control or close administrative supervision were shelved at the time. But this discussion, as well as others during those years, clearly revealed the intensity of opposition to centralisation, which was the prevailing political creed in India. Yet, at the same time, the impossibility of establishing autonomous provincial units cannot be doubted. Inharmonious relations between the Government of India and the Presidency Governments, uncertainty of Indian finance and the need of lightening the work the Government of India called for change. The financial control was resented by the Local Governments as it did not afford them the means of improving the country in their charge, for which there was a growing

demand owing to "new education" and "new standards of civilisation." The Government of India could not afford resources for internal development because of its growing military, political and general administrative expenditure. Government of India was reluctant to increase taxation, as in the absence of any voluntary imposition by the people themselves, it could be resented as an act of despotism giving rise to discontent. The provision of an agency of voluntary taxation was not then possible in the supreme Government as the representatives of people could not be given any share in or influence over the complexities of Central administration. That could be possible only in the provincial field. To secure the association of Indians with the local administration, decentralisation of financial and administrative control was essential. Thus on the one side these considerations pointed to the need of strengthening the Local Government, but on the other side imperial considerations prompted delay, caution and maintenance of the existing system of centralised control.

Thuggee and its suppression under Bentinck.

[By Dr. O. P. Bhatnagar, M.A., Ph.D.]

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss thuggee and its practice at length. Crime and its punishment have been a feature of every society in the East or the West and in every age. Insistence on its existence and supporting it by facts and figures is of no consequence before this gathering of scholars, who are engaged primarily on an interpretation of original documents with a view to offer a historical synthesis. Works like those of Major Sleeman and Col. Taylor provide us with many a thrilling story of the exploits of the Thugs. *Ram seena* the work of Sleeman reveals to us the peculiar dialect which was spoken by the Thugs, and in its appendices is included a paper by Dr. Sherwood in which the author points out that the English became aware of the existence of the Thugs in the South after the conquest of Seringapatam in 1799. A comprehensive work, viz., 'Illustration of the (p. 328) History and Practice of the Thugs' written by Poynder (who described the activities of the Thugs in the House of Commons) and published in the year 1837, gives a more detailed account of the practice. The works referred to above can be considered to be primary sources of information. In the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India are treasured a number of original papers, minutes and correspondence which, so far as my knowledge goes, have hitherto not been used. But before I proceed to give an interpretation of these records, I would clear the purpose of my writing the paper. A few statements have provoked me as they would provoke any one else, to investigate into the origin and practice of Thuggee. In Kay's 'Administration of the East Indian Company' we find, "In the creed of its votaries, it had of course a divine origin. Everything monstrous and abominable in India has the sanction of some purile or obscene legend to recommend it to the superstitious and depraved," (p. 357). And further, "It is an exploit worthy to be celebrated by every writer who undertakes to chronicle the achievements of the English in the East—one which is impossible to dwell upon without pleasure and pride (*Ibid*). Another statement on the subject can be found in 'The Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India' by Edward Thompson and Garrett. The authors write "These were parts of India where dacoity was as much a national pastime as bull-fighting in Spain" (page 324). These statements come from writers on modern Indian History whose opinions carry weight.

I would now proceed to examine and interpret the records available on the subject. Papers dealing with Thagi and dacoity, available in the Record Department are classified under the section, Home Thagi. A despatch of the Court of Directors in which advice was tendered to the Government of India with regard to the meting out justice, explains thus the existence of the Thugs and the methods resorted to for suppression. "The enormities of the thugs are mostly committed in our newly acquired possessions or in the territories of the native chiefs of Bundelkhand, Malwa and Rajputana. The supineness or connivance of those chiefs prevents them from adopting any effectual means of repression and enable the officers of these governments and many of their subordinate jagirdars to shelter the Thugs from whom they receive a portion of the fruits of their crimes. (Home, Thagi 1833-B.2 No. 2.)

The despatch also explains that the work was entrusted to the Agent to the Governor General of the Saugor and Narbada country (F. C. Smith), to Capt. Sleeman and one other assistant officer. With regard to the trial of the offenders the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction at the prolonged detention of prisoners in the prisons before their cases came up for trial. The Court also warned the Government of India that "they should not convict them (thugs) upon the mere evidence of accomplices unless so confirmed by circumstantial evidence", and that "no person must ever be convicted merely for being reputed a Thug or being in the company of Thugs" (*Ibid*). Mr. F. C. Smith the Agent to the Governor General suggested in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India dated the 26th of June 1833 that Nizamut Adalat could not be competent enough to try the Thuggee cases and separate courts should be established.

Another important document pertaining to the practice is a letter written by Mr. F. C. Smith to Mr. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government, dated the 6th December 1833. He wrote 'their (Thugs') operations partake of the nature of Dacoity as well as Thuggee. In fact the Goddess of destruction, Kali, possesses votaries all over India. Hinduism would appeal to favour these confederacies and the Saugor family are said by the Pundits never to have thriven since they abolished human sacrifice. Both the Saugor and Bundelkhand Jageerdars formerly openly protected these gangs and shared in their spoils' (Home : Thagi and Dacoity H.1. 1833-34).

F. C. Smith in the same letter mentioned that there were two ways of arresting the Thugs ; 1st in their expeditions, second at their homes. He referred to the genealogical tables prepared by Capt. Sleeman how generation after generation Thuggee was practised in the same family. With regard to the trial we find mention that 'besides the evidence of the approvers each trial is furnished with collateral proof obtained by the exhumation of the bodies of the murdered.' Further we find in the same letter that 'we have taken off the roads upwards of fifteen thousand professional assassins who infested all parts of India spreading death and ruin wherever they went. The roads are now in most places perfectly safe and in all except Oude, Benares and the lower Provinces comparatively speaking free from danger' (*Ibid*).

A close scrutiny of all the Government records available on the subject has enabled me to glean out only the above quoted extracts. There are references to the existence of Farud Dehee and Jamal Dehee Thugs of Oudh. There are also references to difficulties of the authorities in arresting the Thugs due to the protection offered by the native chiefs. But beyond it we have no mention, so far as I have been able to examine the government records, of the functioning of the tribunals set up for the trial of the Thugs. From the papers we are unable to give account of the extraordinary measures adopted by the East India Company for the extirpation of the scourge which was so wide spread "from Cape Comerin to the banks of the Sutlej" (Home : Thagi 1833-B.2. No. 4.). The rest of the materials deals only with the cheap stories of the various approvers and Thugs like Deokinandan and Firingheea. We do not find any statistics given of the thugs apprehended and sentenced. Many were arrested on the flimsiest pretext just on the basis of an approver's evidence and were detained in prisons for a very long time. The only statistics that are available are as quoted by Poynder. According to a statement made by Capt. Sleeman the result of their proceedings is as follows :—"Between the years. 1826

and 35— 1562 prisoners were committed by various magistrates, of these 328 were punished by death, 999 by transportation, 77 by imprisonment for life ; from 21 security was required, 71 were sentenced to limited periods of imprisonment, making a total of 1,450 convicted ; of the remainder 21 were acquitted, 11 contrived to escape, 31 died before sentence and 49 turned approvers.” (Illustration of the History and Practice of Thugs pp. 467-68). These figures are in conflict with the figures roughly given by F. C. Smith in his letter to Macnaghten.

Apart from this doubt about the figures, there is doubt about the prevalence of the crime to such an extent as has been emphasised by a number of writers. In support of this assertion may be quoted a letter of Major Stubbs Superintendent of Scindhia's contingent dated the 3rd July 1835 in reply to Major Sleeman's Circular letter ; and the following lines are relevant for our purpose.” I have no records of any Thugs having been apprehended by the contingent Horse and I am therefore unable to furnish you with the list you require. (Ram seena pp. 19-20)”. This indicates how in some parts thuggee was not prevalent. Even if Thuggee was in existence and taking for granted that a large body of men had no other means of subsistence than those afforded by plunder, then this is in all countries too common to excite surprise. Organised bands of assassins are not peculiar to India. What is surprising is, when it is asserted that Thuggee was a hereditary profession and for generations in one family it was being practised, the East India Company exercising sovereignty over large part of the country and for no inconsiderable period should have been ignorant of the existence and habits of a body so dangerous to the public peace. It is not doubt certain that thuggee was practised. The conditions of the country were so disturbed that it would have been surprising if crime had not been rampant. A perusal of the revenue and judicial selections would reveal that due to the defective system of revenue collection and due to the defective working of the Courts the economic life had become thoroughly unsettled. A series of wars of annexation that had been waged during the years preceding 1830 had led to the loosening of hordes of unemployed soldiers with no other means of livelihood except highway robbery. The Company's officers believed too implicitly, the stores if approvers. The Thugs may have believed in a crude and vulgar type of religion and their movements may have invariably been governed by omens, but by no means it can be proved that people as such believed, Thuggee to have a divine sanction and that it was a national pastime. On this score, for religion was always a bugbear, the company could not have shirked its responsibility of maintaining internal security. At a time when the company turned its attention from annexations towards organising a regular administration, some of their fears were unduly exaggerated. A propaganda for shielding them for their irresponsible behaviour and overrating even the minor things was intensively carried out. That is how Thuggee and its suppression also assumed such importance.

Subh-Sadiq.

[By Dr. B. P. Saksena, M.A., Ph.D. (London)]

There is a huge mass of material, though strictly speaking not historical, yet capable of yielding valuable historical conclusions which may considerably supplement our existing knowledge and information. For various reasons, and primarily because of its inaccessibility, sufficient attention has so far not been given to its study. With regard to the Moghul period it may safely be asserted, that the prevailing peace and tranquillity afforded opportunities to even moderately educated men to record their experiences and observations in simple but effective language. This literature may be called autobiographical literature. It is both in Hindi and Persian. Its thorough survey has now become an imperative necessity.

While glancing through the Persian Mss. dealing with the 17th Century history of India I came across "Subh Sadiq" which is a private diary of an employee in the Moghul service. We find it mentioned in the catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum Library, London, but the note is much too brief to enable us to have a knowledge of its contents. As it threw interesting light on the literary atmosphere of the Empire I considered it worth while to translate it in English. This translation I hope to publish shortly in some historical journal.

Though the opening lines of this autobiography are "I was born at Surat on November 1, 1609 in the 5th year of Nuruddin Jahangir's reign," internal evidence decisively points to the conclusion that it is a part of a larger work. For instance, during the course of the narrative the author at one place remarks, "The account of his uncle Mir Md. Jafar Rizvi has been given in the tenth chapter of this work". Again with reference to Maulana Jami Tabrazi and Mir Alauddin Marashi Shustari it is noted that their account has been given in the preceding pages. Besides this at several places the author says that the account of such and such person will be given in the following pages, *e.g.*, this observation is made about Amir Sayyid Nurullah and Alauddaulah. About Khwajah Md. Duhdai it is said that his account has been given in these pages.

The above remarks raise several interesting questions with regard to the size and volume of this work. The fact that it is a fragment is beyond doubt. But it is difficult to determine as to which part of the original work does the present Ms. represent and also as to what has happened to those portions of the narrative which, if we can attach any importance to the observations of the author, were included but which are missing from the present work. In this connection it is fitting to note that the opening words leave little doubt that the existing Ms. is the earlier portion of the original work. It is not unlikely that some intervening portions might have been omitted by the transcriber, but the continuity and trend of the narrative do not lend support to this presumption. In that eventuality it is safe to assume that the author did originally intend to write something about certain individuals but for reasons best known to him he could not fulfil his desire.

But even in its mutilated form the Subh-i-Sadiq has an importance of its own. From his childhood onward the author Md. Sadiq seems to have travelled extensively. Born at Surat in 1609, when he was only three years of age his father left for

Ahmadabad and entered the service of Shahjahan. In 1614 he went to Malwa, but next year he again returned to Surat. After a stay of two years there, he left for Ahmadnagar whence he went to Allahabad and Patna, his father having been appointed to the post of Diwan by Prince Parwez. But when Shahjahan invaded Bihar the author and his father were compelled to migrate to Jaunpur. After remaining here for about a year Md. Sadiq left for the Deccan where his father had rejoined Prince Parwez. In 1624 on the death of the latter, the appointment of Khan Jahan Lodi to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, and the consequent dismissal of the author's father from his post in Berar the two parted company. Mohd. Salib, the father repaired to court, and Md. Sadiq made his way to Junnar where Shahjahan had taken refuge.

At Junnar Sadiq secured the patronage of Islam Khan whom he accompanied to Bijapur on the congratulatory mission despatched by Shahjahan to the new sovereign of that kingdom. Meanwhile Jahangir died, and Shahjahan was invited to ascend the throne at Agra. When leaving for the north he recalled Islam Khan. Sadiq being in the train of his patron arrived at Agra, after the coronation ceremony. Soon after, he was assigned an *iqta* in Bengal and he left Agra to join his post. On the way he visited Kanauj, Bahraich and Patna. After his arrival at Rajmahall, the governor Qasim Khan appointed him Bakhshi of Jarkah and as such he participated in several campaigns led by the Imperial armies to suppress the risings of Afghan chiefs.

It appears that when Md. Sadiq's father died on March 9, 1634 he was involved in serious pecuniary troubles, Md. Salih having left behind several financial commitments which it was difficult to discharge. And henceforward Md. Sadiq had to pass a miserable time. His efforts to conciliate the governor Islam Khan proved unavailing. "Till 1638 I remained virtually a prisoner in wilderness. I had to pass most of my time alone. In this plight I vainly attempted to sever all connections with this world..... But God did not give me the requisite determination and courage".

Thus it is clear that Md. Sadiq had acquired a varied experience in state service, moving as he did from place to place. As to his experience of men that too was not less plentiful. He had the good fortune to sit at the feet of about half a dozen famous men of letters. *e.g.*, Mir Mirzuzzuddin Yazdi, Maulana Husani Kashmiri and Shaikh Afzal Jaunpuri. He came in contact with calligraphists like Mirza Muhammad Husain Sirati Ghaffari Qazwini, Mirza Sultan Mahmud, Mulla Abdulla, and Muhsinat Shirazi. He met scholars like Maulana Hamid, Baqi Nahwandi, the author of *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Maulana Abdul Latif Sultanpuri, Maulana Md. Yazdi Lahori, a pupil of Sheikh Abul Fazl. As to poets with whom he was personally acquainted, their number is very large. Of these, mention may be made of Faghfur, Rukunddin Kashi Masih, Mirza Baqir Chishti Hasli, Mirza Ismail Sikuti, and Ibrahim Husain Dirī.

But more important than the mention of the name of poets, scholars, and religious divines, is the vivid picture of the cultural life obtaining at this period at Ahmadabad, Mandu, Burhanpur, Ahmadnagar, Jaunpur, Patna and Jahangirnagar. It is also interesting to note the migration of these men from place to place in search of employment and patronage.

Nor is this autobiography devoid of political interest. The author refers to various events of which he was an eye-witness or in which he participated. For example, Shahjahan's struggle against the Imperialists at Jaunpur and Benares ; the congratulatory mission dispatched by Shahjahan to Bijapur ; the campaign against Kamaluddin Usman, an Afghan rebel in Eastern Bengal ; and Islam Khan's military activities in Kuch Bihar and Assam have been mentioned, though briefly, but in their proper perspective.

Some details of the revenue administration of the Ceded Province 1801-1833).

(By Mr. R. N. Nagar, M. A.)

The Revenue administration of the Ceded Province, between 1801 and 1833, reconstructed here from the Government revenue records of the period concerned, is an important chapter in the history of the North West Provinces. It was finally taken up as the basis of the fiscal system of the Province, and continues, even to the present day. It, also, gave much of the legal form to one of the most debated institutions of the day—Zamindari and Talukadari system.

A brief reference may, here, be made to the Executive machinery of the Government, without which a proper grasp of the various problems will not be possible. The Ceded Province came into the possession of the East India Company (1801) peacefully, and without any bloodshed. So, there was no occasion to introduce any new revenue system, when, what was inherited, was workable. The Company only imposed its own administrative machinery on the Province. In theory this machinery was simple; but in practice it was defective. The biggest handicap that it had to face was, that it had no well defined set of rules or precedents to go by. Customs and usages, rather than written documents, were found to constitute the rights and privileges of the agricultural communities. The various fiscal tenures were so complicated in nature, that they could not be properly understood without a thorough acquaintance with the customs, usage, and the language of the country.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors, in England, was the final authority in all matters of the Company's administration. The Sadar Board of Revenue had an absolute control over fiscal measures, under the sanction of the Hon'ble Court, and Governor-General-in-Council. The Collector was the supreme authority in his own district. There was no regular gradation of offices under him. He left much of the details of the administration to be carried out by subordinate Indian officers—the Patwari, Kanungo, and the Tehsildar.

The Sadar Board of Revenue, which guided the fiscal measures, existed far away, and could not possibly remain in close personal contact with, and supervision of the administration. Then, the entire control of a district was vested in one single Collector, who was generally unacquainted with the language, usages, and the tenures of the country. Thus he could not put an effective check upon the notorious malpractices of the Kanungo, the Patwari and the Tehsildar, who were the bane and the blot of administration. The Civil Courts which were expected to decide disputes, and punish the 'recalcitrants', were themselves corrupt. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, observed in his valuable memorandum "—Every judicial officer will join in declaring that the administration of Civil justice is still very defective"¹. The village police, too, was incapable of dealing with the turbulent spirits. Mackenzie confessed² "—The

¹ Government Revenue Records (1818-20) page 71.

² Government Revenue Records (1818-20) Page 98.

act and rapacity of the speculating farmers and auction purchasers tended to shake the whole frame of the village police".

The period of administration may conveniently be divided into three stages (a) the beginning stage (1801-1815) (b) the transitional stage (1816-1820) and (c) the final stage (1821-1833).

The beginning and the transitional stages may be dealt with together. The new Government found that the Zamindars and Talukdars were by far the most influential and powerful sections of the agricultural communities. It was thought inexpedient to displease them. Therefore, without considering the legality of their claims, or otherwise, the Government directly engaged with them. It could never understand the complex tenures, and the tradition-ridden-village-constitution, so, it merely followed 'let-a drift' policy. It was never its considered policy in the preliminary stages, or even afterwards, to engage with the ryots. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government, observed in his memorandum¹ "the Government is hostile to the maintenance of such distinctions in favour of the lower classes".

The Government formed a triennial settlement in the beginning (1802-1805) and again from 1805 to 1807. At the end of the year possibility of granting a permanent settlement was brought forward; but it was waived aside by the Hon'ble Court of Directors. A quartennial settlement was, then, formed (1807-1811). It was announced by proclamation that permanency of settlement would be granted at the end of the term. The Hon'ble Court, however, expressly forbade it, causing immense disappointment to the Zamindars and the proprietary classes.

The period was extended for another five years.

From the very beginning the Government tried to realise maximum 'jumma'. Regarding the district of Cawnpore, the Commissioners observed in their report:²—"Much too great an anxiety was manifested—suddenly, to draw the utmost revenue; large deductions became necessary as a consequence, but even after these concessions were made, assessment in particular mohals was far from being moderate". The report of the Commissioners in almost all the districts was the same. Sir E. J. Colebrooke, a member of the Board of Commissioners who was a very respected officer, commented in his minute³—"a greater revenue than what is now derived is not to be expected". J. Adam, a member of the Board of Revenue, also confessed⁴—"A period of repose and cessation from further demands is indispensable". It led to, as for example, in Gorruckpore⁵—"a considerable difficulty from a very extensive recusance by the Zamindars, accompanied by neglect of cultivation, and in some cases, by the desertion of their lands" again, in Etawah the Commissioners spoke of⁶—"wilful reductions in the assets through a general combination of the Zamindars with a view to lower their assessments".

The greatest evil of over-assessment resulted in the public sale and auction of land in lieu of default of payment. This rule was rigorously applied, with unfortunate results. It made the Tehsildar the most corrupt officer of the Government.

¹ Government Revenue Record (1818-20) Page 76.

² Report of Late Commissioners, Government Revenue Records (1818-20).

³ Minute 17th March 1820.

⁴ Minute 24th May 1820.

⁵ Report of the Commissioners, Government Revenue Records (1818-20).

⁶ Government Revenue Records (1818-20) page 29.

He widely indulged in fraud to extend his own possessions. It was reported of Allahabad that ¹ "numerous transfers by public and private sale, which amounted to a total permutation of property" were effected. There was no remedy in checking the Tehsildar, as the officers of the Civil Court themselves were a party to these frauds. The Government, too, was put to a loss. Mackenzie commented, ² "The Government have not only been defrauded of the increased revenue to which they would have been entitled, but have also been exposed to heavy balances on the unsettled estates".

Allied to the excess assessment was the evil of short term settlement. The rescinding of the promise of a permanent settlement quashed the rising hopes of the Zamindars, and made them feel injured. It may, here, be incidentally mentioned that the Commissioners were of opinion that majority of the districts in the Ceded Province were, more or less, ready for a permanent settlement. These settlements made the Zamindars and Pattidars feel that there was no end to the Government demand. The effect, in the words of the Commissioners, ³ "has been to deter purchasers from offering for lands under the further uncertainty of what might be expected of them in future settlement". Also ⁴ "in many instances the settlement has not been finally concluded until the period prescribed for it has nearly lapsed, and the hurry in which the settlement of a large district must be made by single Collector, precludes all hopes of his escaping error". Its seriousness may be imagined from the observation of the Commissioners. ⁵ "When a settlement is thus made for single villages, or a small estate, a small error may operate ruinously".

Patwaris and Kanungoes, who furnished all the information regarding the tenures, the rights and privileges of the agricultural communities, were found to give deliberately false statements. The Governor General cited in his minute (1815) two glaring examples of this malpractice. Pargana of Najeemabad, in Gorrahpore, was recorded to contain 312,179 Bighas of land. Upon military Survey it was found to contain 519,230 Bighas of land. The rate of assessment per bigha was found to vary from district to district, from Rs. 2-3-0 to 0-7-0.

It was this, more than anything else, that led the Government to insist on collecting as detailed an information regarding the various tenures, and the rights and privileges of the various classes, as was possible. The period between 1818 and 1820 was spent in discussing the various plans regarding fiscal reforms to be brought forward. Long-lease settlement, and professional survey was strongly advocated at this stage by the Governor General. These reforms were planned on the basis of the valuable memorandum of Holt Mackenzie, which would be found to be of great importance to the student of history of that period. In the year 1822 several new and important measures were promulgated. Governor General-in-Council observed ⁶ "They (the Hon'ble Court) have expressed their full approbation of the plan of proceeding leisurely, village by village, for the purpose of uniting with the revision of the Government assessment, the careful ascertainment of rights and interests of all classes". It iterated ⁷ "Even, when the means

¹ Government Revenue Records (1818-20) Page 114.

² Holt Mackenzie's Memorandum (1818-20) Page 22.

³ Memorandum (1818-20) Page 72.

⁴ Memorandum (1818-20) Page 72.

⁵ Government Revenue Records (1818-20) Page 72.

⁶ Resolution of Government of India August (1822).

⁷ Resolution of Government of India August 1822.

of raising revenue are most abundant....they (the Hon'ble Court of Directors) have urged the necessity of avoiding any sudden enhancement". Even where tenures were "abusive or invalid", it was not thought "wise or humane" to urge the Government rights to a length entailing distress and ruin to the individuals. It was, also reiterated that the Zamindars and Talukdars could not be divested of their proprietary rights except for "crimes or defaults". Several other important measures were also formulated. Long lease settlement was to be instituted. Pottahs were to be granted to the ryots. The work of professional survey was defined, agricultural maps of the districts were to be prepared; and the public accounts were to be reduced to one standard Bigha.

The Governor General made some interesting observations in his letter to the Sadr Board (1831), ¹ "His Lordship". It read "has everywhere had cause to deplore the slow progress that has been made in the work, and still more, to an active and zealous persecution of it." It formulated several instructions which clearly defined the duties of the various officers, ordered for a clear and definite demarcation of the Zamindari lands, and laid down that the lands were to be assessed, according to their capabilities, and not according to their culture. It made a most remarkable observation in the history of the revenue administration of the North West Provinces ² "For the purpose of economy it would seem sufficient to prescribe that Hindus and Mussalmans should, in future, be entertained in lieu of the Europeans and half-caste assistants". A conference at this stage was called forth at Allahabad. Reforms suggested heretofore, were confirmed and several additional suggestions made. The Conference resulted in the famous Regulation of 1833. The whole system now formed the basis of the administration of the North West Provinces. The proposal of "a native Deputy" was first suggested by W.W. Bird, member of the Board of Revenue. His duties were, ³ "such an officer should record all the proceedings in his name and on his own responsibility". His salary was to be the same as that of principal Sudder Ameen.

Thus, between the years 1821 and 1833 three important regulations were formulated which stabilised the revenue administration, and proved conducive to the welfare of the people.

T. C. Robertson first drew the attention of the Government to the gross mismanagement in some of the Ceded districts. It led Mr. Stuart to propose for the appointment of a special commission. Consequently Regulation I was promulgated in 1821 ⁴ "for the appointment of a special commission in the Ceded and conquered Provinces for the investigation and decision of certain claims to recover possession of land, illegally or wrongfully disposed of by public sale, or lost through private transfers, effected by undue influence, and for the corrections and omissions of the proceedings adopted by the revenue officers in regard to the record and recognition of proprietary rights and privileges of agricultural communities".

The preamble of the Regulation stated, ⁵ "In the first seven or eight years, after the acquisition of the Ceded Provinces by the British Government, the native

¹ Minute of Governor General September 1832.

² Minute of the Governor General January 1832 [Government Revenue Record 1822-33].

³ Minute of the Governor General September 1832.

⁴ Letter from Bengal Territorial Department to the Hon'ble Court of Directors August 1821.

⁵ Government Revenue Records (1821) page 244.

officers of Government, their relations, connections, and dependents, taking advantage of the novelty of British rule, of the weakness and ignorance of the people, and in some cases, of the culpable supineness and misconduct of the European functionaries, under whose authority they were employed, contrived by fraudulent and iniquitous practices to acquire very extensive estates in several of the Provinces in question..... There is reason to believe that the same evils have very generally occurred in all cases of sale for the recovery of arrears, even where the transfer of the estate held by the alleged defaulter was legal and valid."

Accordingly, two special commissions were instituted: Mofussil Special Commission, and Sadr Special Commission. The latter had supervisory powers over the former, and decided cases brought up against the decision of that court.

To facilitate the work of the two Commissions a regulation was passed in 1826, which enabled its members to sit separately and to try cases cognizable under the Regulations of 1821 and 1822.

The Regulation VII of 1822 was also an important landmark¹ "It empowered Revenue Collectors to try suits between landlords and tenants, to determine the rents payable, to adjust accounts between them, and to decide all matters connected with the land, rents, leases, and engagements between landlords and tenants. An appeal was allowed to the Board, and finally by a regular suit in the Civil Court".

The Regulation was by no means perfect.² "The act prescribed no equitable standard of rents payable by cultivators except the judgment of the Revenue Collectors. It prescribed no equitable margin of profits to landlords.... It fixed no limit to state demand in future".

Raikes also confessed³ "An attempt to an enquiry suddenly over-burdened the Collectors. Fast men could make little progress in the settlement of their districts; slow men made none at all that was perceptible".

With the arrival of Lord Bentinck as the Governor General of India⁴ "a short but stringent and effective law" was passed as Regulation IX (1833).⁵ "By this Regulation majority of the judicial cases were transferred from the Courts of settlement officers, estimates of produce and rents were simplified, and the system of average rents for different classes of soil was introduced. The general use of the field map and the field register was prescribed for the first time, the Government demand was reduced to two third of the gross rental, and the settlement which took sixteen years to complete from 1833 to 1849 was made for a period of thirty years". Thus, the Regulation proved to be the high water mark of the revenue administration.

A reference may, here, be made to the Zamindari and Talukdari system. The Zamindar was allowed a free hand in his dealings with the ryot. The Government purposely did not interfere with the rent payable by the ryot to the Zamindar or the Talukdar, lest it should rouse their wrath. Later on interesting discussions arose regarding the validity of the Zamindari and Talukdari rights. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Secretary to the Governor General, said in this connection⁶ "The

¹ Economic History of India under Early British Rule by Romesh Dutta.

² Economic History of India under Early British Rule p. 194.

³ Notes on the North West Provinces of India page 68.

⁴ & ⁵ Economic History of India under Early British Rule, page 389.

⁶ Minute by Sir Metcalfe November 1830.

system of land revenue (the Indian system) does not admit, between the Government and the cultivator, any proprietor competent to intercept and appropriate Government share of the produce". Mill observed in the Parliament, ¹ "I conceive that, generally, at one time the lands in India were occupied by the ryots, who had a right of perpetual occupancy.... It frequently happened that middle men were interposed in the form of mere renters". W. W. Bird made a specific conclusion in his minute ² "the former (Zamindar) is a distinct creation of the British Government: the hereditary transferable rights to engage with Government for the revenue of any mouzah, or a number of mouzahs, for a term to collect the rents thereof, and appropriate the difference, being unknown to the preceding rulers of India". The Government not only chose to engage with the Zamindar, the Talukdar, and the Pattidar, but, also, did not acknowledge the proprietary claims of any other sections of the agricultural community—for example, of Birteaahs, Mouroosee, Chupper bund, Khood Kasht and jummaee-assamee, etc., whose rights were undeniable. Though the newly instituted reforms were promptly brought into action, but the Government refused to make a concerted attempt to weed out the defects of the preceding settlements. Mackenzie remarked ³ "Numerous cesses are still being generally levied.... It might be harsh to disallow such contributions". Even, so far back as 1844 sufficient information could not be had. Thornton, Secretary to the Government of the North West Provinces, in his letter to Secretary of Sadr Board (1844) regarding the Talukdari tenure, observed ⁴ "these doubts have occasioned uncertainty of title, and consequent deterioration of property". The Government could not realise that an early employment of Indians on superior posts would have allayed much of the short comings of the administration, and many of the malpractices would never have accrued. Sir Henry Strachey confessed, ⁵ "the natives are depressed and humiliated being confined by us to subordinate and servile offices.... From temper, habit, and peculiar circumstances they are in many respects fitter for the offices of a judge than overselves"

".....But we place the European beyond the reach of temptation. To the native a man whose ancestors, perhaps, bore a high command, we assign some ministerial office with a poor stipend of twenty or thirty rupees, then, we pronounce that Natives are corrupt and no race of men but the Company's European Servants are fit to govern them".

Munro also pointed out ⁶ "Under the sway of every Muhammandan conqueror the Natives of India have been admitted to all the highest dignities of the State; it is only under the British Government that they have been excluded from this advantage and held in a condition, even when employed in the public department, little superior to that of menial servants". But, inspite of these defects, the sincerity of the Government in carrying on the administration was undoubted, and one may agree with the conclusion of W. W. Bird ⁷ "We have incurred much ex-

¹ Quoted by Governor General in his Minute September 1832.

² Minute by Mr. Bird on Proprietary Tenure September 1832.

³ Government Revenue Records (1818-20) Page 136.

⁴ Thomason's Despatches Vol. I.

⁵ Economic History of India under Early British Rule, page 320.

⁶ Economic History of India under Early British Rule, page Page 321.

⁷ Government Revenue Records (1822-33), page 467.

pense and given much time and thought to the object of protecting them (the people) though on a wrong principle, and in an erroneous way". But these defects could not be adequately realised then, and it was left for the posterity to mend the shortcomings. The period, without doubt, is a land mark in the history of administration. It provided security under the shield of law, it stabilised a system, which, previously, at its best, was vague and indefinite, and quality and extent of cultivable land was increased considerably.

The Persian Akhbars in the Alienation Office, Poona.

(By Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A.)

The Alienation Office Poona possesses the richest collection of vernacular historical records in India, and it goes to the credit of Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the President of the Indian Historical Records Commission, that with his persistent efforts the Government of Bombay has done what no other Provincial or State Government in the country has been able to do in furthering the cause of reaserch in Indian history. It has published as many as forty-six volumes of original records in a series of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* under the able guidance and editorship of Ráo Bahádúr Mr. G. S. Sardesai. This has finished a good deal of work so far as the Publication of the Marathi records is concerned. The publication of English records has also begun in a series called *the Poona Residency Correspondence*, beginning with *Mahadji Sindhia and North India Affairs, 1785-1794*, edited by Sir Jádunáth Sarkár. The fifth volume is now in the press.

What remains to be explored, and which deserves no less attention, is the Persian Section of the records. Sir Jadunath has cursorily looked through these papers and has spoken very highly of their historical importance.

In 1933 Dr. Muhammad Názim of the Archaeological Department selected and edited 95 papers, which form the first and the only Persian brochure that has so far been published. Professor B. D. Varma of the Ferguson College Poona has also selected 74 news-letters on different topics and is working on them since 1933, but, perhaps, for want of leisure he has not been able to complete his work as yet.

Evidently it is the dearth of Persian-knowing scholars of history in Poona and its neighbourhood that is responsible for the neglect of these Persian records.

I had an opportunity to examine them from 21st to 28th August last in connection with my search for records dealing with the history of the Sikhs during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To my surprise, I found these records bundled up together in ten *rumals* or *bastas* without any arrangement or classification. The news-letters in four of the *rumals* had been unfolded and straightened by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. But they had yet to be arranged and classified. As none of the *rumals* could be successfully examined for any historical research purposes without examining each and every paper in all of them, I took in hand the classification of these *rumals*.

With the exception of one *rumal*, which contained some revenue papers, farmans and other miscellaneous records, the main bulk of the *rumals* comprised *Akhbars* or news-letters from different courts, military camps and important towns, summaries of news submitted from different places by the *Dak Mutsaddis* (*Akhbar ba-mujab Nawvishta-i-Mutsadian-i-Dak*) and "Selected News of India" (*Muntakhíb Akhbar-i-Hindostan*). With the exception of about two dozen letters and documents regarding Tipu Sultan, Mir Alim, Raghuji Bhonsle, etc., and a few news-sheets from Lucknow, Faizabad, etc., all the News-letters relate to the early nineteenth century and appear to have been sent to the British Resident at Poona, most of them having been addressed to Colonel (afterwards General) Smith, for whom I found covering letters enclosed with most of the folded news-sheets.

I felt as if some of the news-letters had not been opened even for the first time, as particles of drying sand could still be seen shining on the ink. Having unfolded and straightened them, I sorted them topically according to the courts, persons and places with which they dealt; and I am glad to say that all the Persian *Akhbars* in those *rumals* are now arranged subject-wise, and there should be no difficulty for a research scholar to get at all the papers on any particular subject in a couple of minutes.

The classification has been done in two lots. The first lot contains papers which were exclusively handled by myself, though they appear to have been cursorily gone through by Sir Jadunath, and the second lot contains those which had been originally unfolded by him and kept separate under his directions. The two lots have, for the present, been classified and kept separately. But as both of them contain practically the same sets of papers, they can be easily put together.

The following is the list of topics and files in the two lots:—

(i) *The First Lot*—

1. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Maharaja Sawái Malhar Rao Holkar.
2. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Nawab Amír-ud-Daulah Muhammad Amir Khan Bahadur.
3. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Rájráná Zálím Singh Bahadur.
4. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Mahárájá Álijáh Daulat Rao Sindhia Bahadur.
5. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Mahárájá Sawái Jagat Singh Bahadur.
6. Akhbár-i-Darbar-i-Raja Raghuji Bhonsle Sainá Sahib Bahadur.
7. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Muntizim-ud-Daulah Bahadur (Mr. Metcalf).
8. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar Bahadur.
9. Akhbár-i-Hazur-i-Wálá, and Akhbár-i-Dárbár-i-Muqaddas Mu'allá.
10. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Shrimant Rao Pandit Pradhán Bahadur.
11. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Sardar Ranjit Singh Bahadur.
12. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Nawab Ásafjáh Bahadur.
13. Akhbár-i-Darbar-i-Raja Apa Sahib Bhonsle Bahadur.
14. Akhbári-i-Deorhi-i-Maharaja Sawái Pratáp Singh Bahadur.
15. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-General Dickson.
16. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-William Frazer.
17. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-General Ochterloney.
18. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i- (?) Sahib Bahadur.
19. Akhbár-i-Lashkar-i-Gopal Rao Bahadur.
20. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Shah Nizam-ud-Din.
21. News-letters regarding Raurji (Rauloji) Sindhia.
22. A news-letter regarding the Sikhs, Taimur Shah, Shah Wali and a nephew of Nadir Shah.

23. A News-letter dated 28th-29th Rajab, 1231 Hijri.
24. Ahwál-i-Tázá ba-Mujab nawishtá-i-Mutsaddián-i-Dak.
25. Muntakhib Akhbár-i-Hindostan.
26. Akhbár-i-Sháhjahánábád.
27. Akhbár-i-Qasbá-i-Járwá.
28. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Hoshangábád-o-Bhupál.
29. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Sioni.
30. Íntikháb-i-Akhbár-o-Roznámchá-i-Khándes.
31. Akhbár-i-Lucknow.
32. Covering letters to the News-Sheets and letters submitted to Colonel (afterwards General) Smith.
33. A News-letter of Mír Álam Bahadur.
34. Five letters of Sir John Shore, Governor General, to Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsle.
35. Letter from Governor General Cornwallis to Tipu Sultan.
36. Letter from Tipu Sultan to Governor General.
37. Malik Isa Khan's two letters.
38. Two letters to Mír Álam Bahadur.
39. A letter addressed to Mr. Elphinstone (Received 25th January 1809).
40. A Sheet containing three letters regarding the Akalkot State.
41. A letter addressed to Mr. Stretchy.
42. A letter of Muhammad Beg Khán Vakíl to the Emperor dated 20th Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1225 A.H.; and a copy of the Emperor's letter to Muhammad Beg Khan.
43. Copy of a letter of Tipu Sultan to Lord Cornwallis, received January 1794.
44. Copy of a letter of Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Raza Khan to Mr. Cherry received 11th February, 1793.
45. Miscellaneous—Khaifiyat-i-Bhawani Prasad, undated; two undated news-letters; a news-letter dated 20th Zil-Haj, 1232 (?) A.H.; Akhbár-i-Pindará.
46. Miscellaneous unsorted papers.
47. Miscellaneous unsorted papers.

(ii) *The Second Lot—*

1. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Mahárájá Sawái Malhár Rao Holkar Bahadur
2. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Amír-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amír Khán Bahádur.

3. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Rájráná Zálím Singh Bahadur.
4. Parchá-i-Akhbár-Maharájá Daulat Ráo Sindhia Bahadur.
5. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-Maharájá Sawái Jagat Singh Bahadur.
6. Akhbár-i-Raja Raghuji Bhonsle Sainá Sáhíb Bahadur.
7. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Muntizim-ud-Daulá Bahadur (Mr. Metcalf).
8. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Maharaja Jaswant Ráo Holkar Bahadur.
9. Akhbár-i-Hazur-i-Wálá, and Akhbár-i-Dárbár-i-Muqaddas Mu'allá.
10. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Shrimant Rao Pandit Pradhan Bahadur.
11. Akhbár-i-Darbár-i-Rájá Mádhóji Bhonsle Apá Sáhíb.
12. Akhbár-i-Darbár-i-Rájá Apá Sahib Bhonsle Bahadur.
13. Akhbár-i-Darbár-i-Ásafjáh Bahadur.
14. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Maharaja Sawái Pratáp Singh Bahadur.
15. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Nawáb Wazir-ul-Mumálik Bahadur.
16. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Annáji Diwan.
17. Akhbár-Jankóji wá Lakwáji.
18. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Rájá Nawal Singh Bahadur.
19. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Muhammad Kamal Khan urf Chitu Khan Pindára
20. Akhbár-i-General Ochterloney.
21. Akhbár-i-Deorhi Bába Sahib Angriá.
22. Akhbár-i-Deorhi-i-Muhammad Iliás Alí Khan Bahadur.
23. Akhbár ba-mujab Nawishtá (Ma'ruzát)-i-Mutsaddiám-i-Dak.
24. Muntakhib Akhbár-i-Hindustán.
25. Akhbár-i-Faizábád Deorhi Begam Sahibá.
26. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Aurangábád.
27. Parchá-i-Akhbár-i-Hoshangábád-o-Bhupál.
28. Parcha-i-Ahwál-i-Tázá-i-Qasbá-i-Sioní.
29. Akhbár-i-Khándes.
30. Parchá-i-Ahwál-i-Tázá-i-Qasba Járwá.
31. A news-letter of Calcutta, dated February 23rd 1817.
32. Covering letters to the news-letters addressed to Colonel (Afterwards General) Smith.
33. Tipu Sultan—
 - (i) Copy of a letter in reply to an arzí of Tipu Sultán, May 23rd, 1791.
 - (ii) Copy of a letter of Tipu Sultán to Salábat Khan, Zil-Qada 1, 1205 (July 1791).
 - (iii) Copy of a letter of Tipu addressed to Ázim-ul-Umrá.

- (iv) Copy of a Kharítá of Tipu to Āzim-ul-Umrá, 15th September, 1793
- (v) Letter of Mr. G. F. Cherry to Ghulám Ali Khán and Ali Razá Khán, Vakils, 4th November 1793.
- (vi) A reply of the Vakil of Tipu Sultán at Chinnáppan to the letter of Lord Cornwallis.
- (vii) List of the villages in the Ta'alluqá of Bellári and pergannáh Mokha (Mogha ?) still under the control of the Ta'alluqdárs of Tipu Sultán.
- 34. Lord Cornwallis's letter to Maharaja Sindhia Patil Bahadur, 5th August, 1793.
- 35. Copy of a letter of Raja Gobind Baksh addressed to Captain George Sydenham, 5th Muharram, 1229 A.H.
- 36. A letter addressed to Mr. Elphinstone.
- 37. A copy of a Tilangi letter of Sheikh Muhayy-ud-Din to Abbas Ali, 1st Safar 1228 A.H.
- 38. Miscellaneous papers, not classified.

What remains to be done now is to have the different sets of *Akhbars* arranged chronologically. This should not present much difficulty to a Persian-knowing scholar of history who wishes to work on any particular topic.

Some difficulty will, of course, be experienced in arranging the *Akhbars* of the *Dak Mutsaddis* and the *Muntakhib Akhbar-i-Hidostan* because of their being confusedly mixed up. At the time of making selections from these *Akhbars*, the selectors have detached the sheets required by them from the main letters, and, as, in many cases, the first sheets, which usually bear the dates of the writing of the news, have been detached and, along with second and third sheets, are removed away to other rumals, it is not an easy task to rearrange them. This detachment and separation of sheets has also resulted in splitting up the news of some of the courts and places.

All the letters have now to be sorted in a large number of groups. Each separated sheet has to be closely examined, and, then, the connecting sheets have to be fished out, compared and put together. And it is only then that they can be chronologically arranged. But, in spite of all this, as these *Akhbars* are expected to yield a mine of information of great historical importance, and that information can be used for historical research only when these papers are sorted and chronologically arranged, it will be in the fitness of things for the Historical Records Commission to move the authorities of the Alienation Office Poona to have this work done at their earliest.

In the end I would like to make a few suggestions in respect of the arrangement and publication of these *Akhbars* for transmission to the authorities concerned.

(i) No papers should be allowed to be removed from their respective files, and no sheets should, under any circumstances, be allowed to be detached from the main letters and removed to other files. When selecting papers for publication, the main file of the originals should remain in tact, and the news-items or portions thereof selected for publication may be copied and arranged according to the scheme of the publication.

(ii) All those news-letters or sheets thereof, which have already been printed and are still lying separate, should be placed back into their respective files, along with the others which have been taken out for this purpose, making arrangements for their publication as suggested above in (i).

(iii) A list of news-letters or portions thereof which have been printed should be placed in the beginning of the file, and all such letters or sheets should be marked or flagged as "printed", with cross references, if possible, for the guidance of the research scholars examining these *Akhbars*.

(iv) For publishing selections from these Persian *Akhbars*, the same uniform practice should be followed as is done in the case of Marathi "Selections from the Peshwa Daftar" and the English "Poona Residency Correspondence", that is, the papers should be selected on particular topics, such as Events at the Court of Rana Zalim Singh, or Maharaja Ranjit Singh, or Papers relating to Malhar Rao Holkar, Daulat Rao Sindhia, etc. This would be of greater service to the cause of history and would prove more useful to those for whom these publications are intended than the disjointed selections of papers that have so far been made.

Mohan Lal's Letters from Kabul in 1842.

[By Mr. Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.]

I.—INTRODUCTION

Mohan Lal, the traveller, author and diplomat was born in 1812 at Delhi in a family of noted Kashmiri Brahmins, a race which in our own day has produced a number of eminent men of genius in the field of diplomacy and statesmanship. He was probably the first Kashmiri Pandit to receive English Education and to visit Central Asia and Europe. Having studied English for nearly three years at the Persian College, Delhi, he accompanied Sir Alexander Burnes in December 1831 to Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khorasan and Iran. Through all these wanderings he won the approbation of all his companions for "displaying everywhere a rare union of zeal, tact and fidelity."¹ He spoke Persian with such ease and wrote it with such felicity that even the learned people in those countries where she is spoken as mother tongue marvelled at his ability². He spoke "English with a good accent and much idiomatic propriety."³ About his style of writing in English the Editor of the Calcutta "Englishman" remarked :—"He expresses himself with perfect clearness and intelligibility in English, though not with very idiomatic correctness."⁴

His was a magnetic personality. He was tall and extremely handsome with classically regular features. He possessed sunny, sweet and delightful disposition. Few of those thrown into his company ever found it possible to resist his infectious and merry charm. There was a heartiness in his expression, in the smile, in the handshake and in the cordiality.

2. *Services and sufferings*

During the First Afghan War when Mohan Lal was employed as Assistant to Sir Alexander Burnes, he displayed remarkable qualities of a great diplomatist. His charm, his tact, his patience, his lucid intelligence, his incredible grasp of detail, and his clear understanding of the Afghan character combined to give him an equipment, which was not found to that degree even in those officers who were in charge of the diplomatic affairs in that country. It was a child's play for him to win over the opponents and to turn them against their own country and people. Kay remarks :—"The Moonshee seems to have been endowed with a genius for traitor-making, the lustre of which remained undimmed to the very end of the war."⁵

He calls him a "charmer" of men. It was due to the wonderful combination of the two important factors, the personality and the position, which made him formidably fascinating.

¹ Havelock's Narrative of the War in Afghanistan, ii.150.

² Dr. J. G. Gerard to the Government of India, dated Ludhiana, 20th March 1834, Book 50, letter 36, MS.

³ Havelock, ii.140.

⁴ Quoted in Vincent Eyre's Journal, Appendix E, P. 412.

⁵ History of the War in Afghanistan, i.453.

His letters¹ from Kabul in 1842, about 75 of which I have discovered in the manuscript form in the Record Office of the Government of the Punjab, and many of which still remain untraced, furnish us a minute description of the day to day affairs of the Capital, together with a lucid exposition of the state of various political parties.

It should be borne in mind that these letters were written under extremely delicate circumstances. The people of Afghanistan had broken out into open revolt against the British Government. On the 2nd of November 1841, Sir Alexander Burnes and many other officers were put to death. On the 23rd December Sir William Macnaghten, the Envoy, was murdered ; while General Elphinstone's regiment stationed at Kabul was slaughtered on the 7th January 1842, and many officers and ladies were taken prisoners. Afterwards the revolution spread to other parts of the country. Ghazni had fallen after " a very little resistance ". Kelat-i-Ghilzi had to be abandoned. Sir William Nott lay shut up at Kandahar. Only the garrison at Jalalabad under Sir Robert Sale and Captain Macgregor held out bravely.²

Mohan Lal had a hair breadth escape from the Rebels who had caught him and he found a safe asylum in the house of Khan Shirin Khan, the Chief of the Persians who professed the Shia faith which was also adopted by Mohan Lal under the name of Agha Hasan Jan. Here he lived for nearly eight months (2nd November 1841—22nd June 1842) with his father, wife and two daughters.

No sooner had he taken shelter there than he voluntarily set himself the task of collecting authentic information of the state of affairs, and sending it first to Macnaghten and Pottinger and after the massacre of British troops to Jellalabad. This was a task full of hazard. It demanded an extraordinary nerve and nerve he had never lacked. The roads from the Capital in every direction were entirely closed, and were strictly guarded. Jellalabad itself was closely besieged by Akbar who lay encamped there for three months³. The disclosure of even a single letter involved disaster, not only to himself and his family but also to his protectors and friends.

Mohan Lal, however, was extremely lucky in this respect. He was suspected of carrying on correspondence with Jellalabad and Kandahar, which he certainly did ; but no letter of his was ever discovered.⁴ He carried on negotiations with various chiefs who were inclined towards the British Government. He won

¹ These letters were forwarded in original by the Governor General to the Secret Committee of the Directors of the East India Company and certified true copies were retained in India.

² Mohan Lal's Paper on the affairs of Afghanistan, 29th June 1842, 41 C/161-MS ; Mohan Lal's letter to Captain Macgregor, 1st March 1842, 41 C/57-MS.

³ He was defeated by Sir Robert Sale and Captain Macgregor on the 7th April 1842. Cf. Mohan Lal's letter to Captain Macgregor, 9th April 1842, 41 C/57-M.S.

⁴ Sir R. Shakespear, Military Secretary to Major General Pollock wrote :—" If any of his letters had fallen into the hands of the enemy, his life would have been forfeited."

" While at Jalalabad we were entirely dependent on him for intelligence of the state of affairs and of parties at Kabul. His letters in general reached us twice a week and I do not remember a single instance of the information which he gave being incorrect ; and his arrangements were so good that not a single letter sent by any of his messengers fell into the hands of the enemy "

Quoted in Mohan Lal's life of Dost Mohd. ii. 465.

many others in their favour. He sent their letters to Jellalabad, and conveyed back their replies. He tried to secure the release of the British Prisoners;¹ and he succeeded admirably in his diplomatic egg-dance.

His letters give us a glimpse as to the methods adopted by him to achieve this end. At one place he states :—"I have secretly placed my relation Rishi Nath in Bala Hissar to inform me of the daily occurrences and employed two men to go round on almost every chief's house and giving the particular accounts of them for your notice".²

At another place he states :—"I have adopted the most wise plan to transmit my letters which through the favour of God have never been hitherto intercepted or miscarried. I have got possession of some of the Ghilzies, who leave this (place) with my letter, armed and in the soldier's dress. It is to prevent the suspicions of the people on road, and I do not think it safe to send one man, but always send two, three or sometimes four men with each of my letters. I pay for each of my letters from 150 to 200 Rupees, when the answer reaches me from Jellalabad".³

The leaders of the Rebels had strong suspicions of Mohan Lal's doings ; but they had no proof. At one time Aminullah, the wazir of Kabul and one of the chief Rebel leaders, tried to seize Mohan Lal. But such was the magic effect exercised by him, on the Persian chiefs that all of them got ready to fight against the wazir, and the plan had to be abandoned.⁴

Mohan Lal was arrested⁵ on the 22nd June 1842 by Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and was kept in his house under strict watch. He was severely beaten and mercilessly tortured. He says "I was forced to lay down and a couch placed over me on which the people jumped and are beating me with sticks and tormenting me in very rude and unmerciful manner."⁶ In another letter he states :—"I am pinioned and a heavy stone is placed over my back, while the red paper is burnt before my nose and eyes. Sometimes I am bastinadoed."⁷

¹ "I have the honour to forward to be laid before the Governor-General, the accompanying report forwarded to me by Major Pottinger. The return in safety of the prisoners may be attributed in a great measure to the negotiations of Mohan Lal, and the active cooperation of the Kuzzibash Chiefs, in addition to the judicious measures adopted by Major Pottinger". Major General Pollock to T. H. Maddock, Secretary, Political Department, dated Kabul, 23rd September 1842, 41 C/211-MS.

² Mohan Lal to Macgregor, 5th May 1842, 41 C/64-MS.

³ Mohan Lal to Sir R. Shakespear, 1st July 1842, 41 C/157-MS.

⁴ For details cf. Mohan Lal's paper on the Affairs of Afghanistan, para. 136, 29th June 1842, 41 C/161-MS.

⁵ Major General Pollock reported this matter thus :—"I regret to have to report the seizure of Moonshee Mohan Lal by Mohamed Akbar Khan. I will endeavour to engage some other person to supply the place of the Moonshee in sending me intelligence from Cabool ; but I venture to take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General the zeal and perseverance of Moonshee Mohan Lal who under very difficult circumstances and at very great personal risk has contrived to send me regular and correct information of the state of the different Parties at Cabool." To T. H. Maddock, Secretary to Government, Political Department, dated Jellalabad, 26th June 1842, 41 C/146-MS.

⁶ Mohan Lal to Sir R. Shakespear, 14th July 1842, 41 C/172-MS.

⁷ *Ibid*, 17th July 1842, 41 C/176-MS.

After two or three such operations in the day¹ when Mohan Lal was let off to recoup for the following day's bastinado, he would manage to write and convey every news to Jellalabad. He writes :—

“Akbar has confined me very strictly, no man is allowed to come to me, and I induced one of my guards to supply me with the paper, etc., from my servant whom I have desired to remain always out in the street where I am confined.”²

3. Central Points of the Letters

January.

9th.—Informs of his own accident on the 6th January, and the massacre and imprisonment of the British Officers and ladies on the 7th³.

29th.—It is a brief analysis of the causes which led to the outbreak of insurrection in Kabul.⁴

30th.—Describes the treacherous conduct of Akbar and the position of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Zaman Khan and Aminullah Khan. Conveys the news of the death of Lieutenant Sturt and capture of Mrs. Sturt.⁵

February.

28th.—Sends news from Bokhara. Purchases Macnaghten's ring. The Shah intends to march on Jellalabad. Abdul Rahim forged a letter addressed to Macgregor to Khan Shirin, meant to injure the Khan and Mohan Lal.⁶

March.

1st.—Sends news from Ghazni and describes the conflicting views of various chiefs regarding the British prisoners.⁷

10th.—Kandahar is besieged by rebels. Major Leech is safe at Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The Shah excited this rebellion. The intentions of several chiefs are mentioned.⁸

28th.—Sardar Muhammad Husain Khan Barukzai is ready either to apprehend or to murder Aminullah for three lakhs of rupees. Ghulam Khan Populzai is prepared to secure the release of the prisoners. Bills, which were forcibly seized by the rebels, should not be paid.⁹

31st.—The Shah is prepared to pay three lakhs of Rupees to the chiefs if he is not forced to march to Jellalabad. Jubbar Khan has turned hostile to the English. The Shah is afraid of the Barakzais.¹⁰

¹ “Mohan Lal is severely beaten three times and most disgracefully and cruelly treated”. *Ibid*, 41 C/184-M.S.

² *Ibid*.

³ To Macgregor, Political Agent, Jellalabad, 41 C/57-M.S.

⁴ To J. R. Collin, Private Secretary to the Governor-General. 41 C/62-MS., While forwarding this letter to the Secret Committee, the Governor-General remarks :—“Your Honourable Committee will peruse with deep interest the observations of Mohan Lal Lalla native of Hindoostan, formerly in the service of Sir W. Macnaghten and Sir A. Burnes on the causes of the late insurrection in Cabool.” Papers relating to military operations in Afghanistan, p. 260.

⁵ To Macgregor, 41 C/57-MS.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹ To Captain Mackeson, Political Agent, Peshawar, 41 C/37-MS.

¹⁰ To Macgregor, 41 C/57-M.S.

April.

5th.—The Shah was forced to march upon Jellalabad. He left the fort on the 4th, but returned to it in the night. Early in the morning of the 5th, when he was on his way from the fort to the camp, he was murdered by Shuja-ud-daulah, son of Muhammad Zaman Khan.¹

9th.—On the 6th Prince Fateh Jang, son of the late Shah, was placed on the throne. Zaman Khan also declared himself King. He has collected 3,000 troops, but the majority of the people of the city are with the Prince.²

10th.—Lieutenant Conolly and some other officers are placed under the charge of Mir Haji.

Aminullah's power is daily increasing in consequence of his commanding the treasury of the Shah.³

17th.—Akbar intends to send the English Prisoners either to Nijrow or Nisoruk near Surkhah, but the Ghilzais will oppose him. The number of the rebels is increasing.⁴

25th.—Kohistanis have accepted the authority of the prince and Aminullah. Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilzai is collecting me to help Akbar.⁵

Conveys a message from the Prince. Advises letters to be written to Khan Shirin and Mir Haji. Complete disunion prevails among the rebels.⁶

27th.—Aminullah wishes to ruin the Barukzais and they are anxious to see him destroyed, but the wazir's party is stronger.⁷

May.

5th.—Receives the first acknowledgment of his letters from Macgregor, delivers letters to the Prince and Khan Shirin. The Prince is friendly to the English, and the Barukzais are going to attack him. Kohistanis have joined Barukzais.⁸

15th.—Zaman Khan attacked the fort, but was driven back. Negotiations between the Prince and Akbar have broken.⁹

18th.—Forwards Macgregor's letter to Kandahar. Akbar wants the fort and the Prince's money. He tried to seize the Prince by an artifice, but failed. Advises the British army to reach Gundamuk.¹⁰

22nd.—Akbar is attacking Bala Hissar, and brisk fighting going on. Mohan Lal sent four bags of gunpowder to the prince.¹¹

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41 C/42-M.S.

⁵ T. J. R. Colvin, 41 C/42-M.S.

⁶ To Macgregor, 41 C/61-M.S.

⁷ *Ibid.* In a dispatch dated Allahabad, May 17, 1842, to the Secret Committee, London, the Governor-General remarked :—

"For particulars of the state of parties and affairs at Cabool I beg to refer your Honourable Committee to the letters from Mohan Lal to Captain Macgregor inclosed in General Pollock's dispatch of the 30th ultimo."

Papers relating to Military Operations in Afghanistan, London Edition, p. 230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 41 C/61-M.S.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 41 C/83-M.S.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41 C/85-M.S.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 41 C/92-M.S.

23rd.—Barukzais have been repulsed. Suggests letters to be written to several chiefs.¹

25th.—Akbar has transferred the prisoners from Tazeen to Shemkee. Mirza Imam Vardi forges letters saying that General Pollock will plunder the city, destroy mosques and carry off women.²

26th.—Akbar and Zaman Khan are carrying on negotiations with the Prince.³

28th.—Major Pottinger was abused for refusing to order the payment of bills.⁴

June.

2nd.—Akbar and Jubbar Khan wanted to seize Mohan Lal. Zaman Khan and the Persian Chiefs opposed them. A conference was called to decide. Jubbar Khan said that Zaman Khan was an ass, on which Zaman Khan pulled out the beard of Jubbar, gave him a blow and turned him out of the place. Presses for the army's advance to Gundamuk.⁵

3rd.—Mohan Lal destroyed two mines laid by Akbar under a tower of the Bala Hissar.⁶

5th.—Urges General Pollock to march to Gundamuk.⁷

6th.—Akbar lost 500 men in the assault.⁸

7th.—Akbar has captured the Bala Hissar.⁹

9th.—Dissensions between Akbar and Zaman Khan are increasing.¹⁰

10th.—Akbar waited on the Prince, declared him King and himself wazir.¹¹

13th.—Akbar is trying to win over Afghan chiefs to join him against the English.¹²

14th.—Prince is forced to pay money to Akbar.¹³

15th.—Conveys messages from the Prince.¹⁴

17th.—Akbar has extorted from the prince Rs. 1,50,000.¹⁵

19th.—Mohan Lal excited many people against Akbar's plan of sending the prisoners to Bamion.¹⁶

20th.—Akbar has laid trenches round the house of Zaman Khan.¹⁷

21st.—Zaman Khan is defeated.¹⁸

¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/94-MS.

² *Ibid*, 41 C/99-MS.

³ *Ibid*, 41 C/103-MS.

⁴ *Ibid*, 41 C/100-MS.

⁵ *Ibid*, 41 C/109-MS.

⁶ *Ibid*, 41 C/111-MS.

⁷ To Sir R. Shakespear, 41 C/113-MS.

⁸ *Ibid*, 41 C/114-MS.

⁹ *Ibid*, 41 C/115-MS.

The Governor-General in a letter to the Secret Committee observed :—"The letters from Prince Futtah Jung and Mohan Lal to Captain Macgregor at Jellalabad previous to the capture of Bala Hissar by Mohd. Akbar had repeatedly urged the expediency of the advance of the British army even as far as Gundamuk, as a measure which would lead almost certainly to the dispersion of the Barakzye Party and the probable flight of Mohd. Akbar and the liberation of the British prisoners". Dated Allahabad, 8th July 1852, papers relating to the Military Operations in Afghanistan, P. 316.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 41 C/120-MS.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/122-MS.

¹² *Ibid*, 41 C/126-MS.

¹³ *Ibid*, 41 C/129-MS.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 41 C/133-MS.

¹⁵ To Macgregor, 41 C/137-MS.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 41 C/138-MS.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 41 C/141-MS.

¹⁸ To Sir R. Shakespear, 41 C/143-MS.

- 22nd.—Grain has been secured for the General's army.¹
 24th.—Khan Shirin was arrested by Akbar, but is now released.²
 26th.—Aminullah and Mir Haji are against Akbar. Grain and guides are ready for the general.³
 28th.—Sends the names of the leaders who have promised to help the English.⁴
 29th.—Submits a detailed report on the affairs of Afghanistan since 1938.⁵
 30th.—Akbar's brother Sultan Jan had a talk with Mohan Lal lasting for six hours.⁶
 July.

- 1st.—The district of Kohistan is a scene of bloodshed.⁷
 4th.—Akbar is causing dissensions among the prisoners.⁸
 6th.—Mohan Lal distributed 30 letters among chiefs under the assumed epithet of a "citizen" holding them responsible for the prisoners in case of their removal.⁹
 8th.—Akbar is getting unpopular on account of his severity.¹⁰
 9th.—Advises General Pollock to write letters to Akbar's opponents.¹¹
 14th.—Kandahar rebels have reached Kabul. Harvest is ready. Akbar has married Aminullah's sister.¹²
 17th.—Sends Persian Newspapers.¹³
 19th.—Akbar extorts money from the people.¹⁴
 21th.—Akbar has postponed his departure for Jellalabad.¹⁵
 21st.—The supporters of the English are disappearing from the city for fear of Akbar.¹⁶
 26th.—The Kohistani chiefs have rebelled against Akbar.¹⁷
 29th.—Grains and 'Bhoosa' are ready for the army.¹⁸
 31st.—People are tired of Akbar's oppression.¹⁹

August.

- 4th.—Forwards letters from the Prince, Mir Ali Persian and Zaman Khan.²⁰
 8th.—Captain Conolly is dead. Conveys news from Kandahar.
 Captain Sanders has reached Kabul from Kandahar.²¹
 12th.—Akbar is growing desperate at the indifference of the people.²²
 18th.—General Nott has left Kandahar for Kabul. Prince has escaped from the Bala Hissar. Akbar has plundered the palace. Chiefs are sending off their families; and the people are waiting for General Pollock.²³

¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/142-MS.

² *Ibid*, 41 C/150-MS.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Ibid*, 41 C/176-MS.

⁶ *Ibid*, 41 C/180-MS.

⁷ *Ibid*, 41 C/189-MS.

⁸ *Ibid*, 41 C/193-MS.

⁹ *Ibid*, 41 C/148-MS.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 41 C/161-MS.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/162-MS.

¹² *Ibid*.

¹³ *Ibid*, 41 C/177-MS.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 41 C/184-MS.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 41 C/191-MS.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 41 C/196-MS.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 41 C/151-MS.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 41 C/157-MS.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 41 C/165-MS.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 41 C/172-MS.

²¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/179-MS.

²² *Ibid*, 41 C/185-MS.

²³ *Ibid*, 41 C/200-MS.

25th.—Akbar is going to Bootkhak and sending several chiefs to Ghazni to oppose General Nott. Ghazni prisoners have been sent to Shemkee.¹

26th.—Akbar has sent off the prisoners to Bamian. He is ready to fight General Pollock and to fly if defeated.²

30th.—Saleh Muhammd, in charge of the prisoners, is ready to release them for a reward of Rs. 25,000 and a pension of Rs. 300 per mensem.³

September.

1st.—General Nott has reached Ghazni. People of Kabul are flying.⁴

4th.—Akbar has left for Begname at the head of 2,000 troops. The chiefs are ready to seize Akbar, provided the English occupy Kabul, of which they are in doubt.⁴

¹ *Ibid*, 41 C/202-MS.

² *Ibid*, 41 C/205-MS.

³ *Ibid*, 41 C/206-MS.

⁴ *Ibid*, 41 C/210-MS.

⁵ *Ibid*, 41 C/207-MS.

About these letters the Governor-General in a report to the Secret Committee observed :—"The intelligence which has been lately received by Major General Pollock from Cabool with great despatch and regularity contains a clear and connected account mostly from the pen of Moonshee Mohan Lal of the progress of events at that Capital".

Papers relating to Military Operations in Afghanistan, 316.

Contemporary chroniclers of the Nagpur Rajahs.

[By Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.]

This paper has been based on the records, both Marathi and English, preserved in the library of the India Office in London. After the deposition of Mudhoji alias Appasahib a son of Raghoji II's daughter was given in adoption to his wife and was seated on the throne as Raghoji III on 26th June 1818. As he was then minor, the general superintendence of the affairs was, from that period, assumed by the resident, in the name of the rajah, with the assistance of the British officers at the head of every department. Mr. Richard Jenkins was the then resident. He occupied the post as the first permanent resident at the court of the rajah of Nagpur since 1807 and he was in office till 1827. He was present at Nagpur as representative of the supreme government of the East India Company at the death of Raghoji II and the accession of Parsoji, so also at the death of Parsoji and the accession of Appasahib. It was Mr. Jenkins who as a resident arrested and deposed Appasahib, and took a leading part in bringing about the adoption and accession of Raghoji III.

Mr. Richard Jenkins caused a thorough enquiry about the history of the rajahs of Nagpur and their territories through his superintending British officers and his local assistants. As a result of this enquiry Mr. Jenkins submitted a detailed report, on 27th July 1826, to Lord Amherst, the then Governor General of India at Calcutta. This report was printed in 1827 in a book form in the Government Gazette Press at Calcutta. A copy of the said book can be perused in the library of the India Office. Mr. Jenkins's report is very valuable inasmuch as it contains a short history of the Nagpur rajahs, their administration, and also social, economic, political and religious conditions of the territories and their people.

As it will be seen from the records in the India Office library Mr. Jenkins had begun collection of the information, even in the lifetime of Raghoji II. Brief account of the manuscripts preserved in the India Office will give an idea of the value of the information thus collected.

1. The history of the Bhonslas of Nagpur has been written by Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis, ancestor of the present Chitnavis family of Nagpur. It is abruptly broken by a sentence about the defeat of Bajirao Peshwa by Holkar and his flight to Bassein and Holkar's endeavour to induce Amritrao to assume the office of Peshwa.

2. A history of the Bhonslas written by Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis for Mr. Jenkins at the request of Gujaba Dada Gujar. This is probably the work ascribed to Gujaba Dada in the introduction by Vinayakrao in his history of the Bhonslas. The history ends with the deposition of Appasahib and the settlement by the British.

3. A history of the Bhonsla rulers of Nagpur has been written by one Sakharam Mahipat Prabhu. In the introduction of the chronicle it is mentioned that Sakharam Mahipat wrote the history in 1822 as he received the order to write it from Richard Jenkins through Captain Wilkinson. He made use of the notes left by his uncle. This chronicle or bakhar has been published in the Kavayetihas Sangraha Magazine but the editor has wrongly ascribed it to Kashirao Rajeshwar Gupta.

The introductory passage mentioned above does not occur in the printed copy. This very chronicle has been made use of by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar along with several other histories for writing his history. This history mainly deals with the account of the reign of Raghuji II and has been brought upto 1818, *i.e.*, upto the deposition of Mudhoji *alias* Appasahib and accession of Raghoji III and lastly the assumption of superintendence of the affairs of Nagpur raj by Mr. Richard Jenkins as resident.

3. One Vinayakrao Anandrao Aurangabadkar is foremost among the chroniclers of the Nagpur rajahs. He was in service of the resident Jenkins at Nagpur. Several volumes compiled by him have been deposited in manuscripts in the India Office Library. They show that much of the credit for the information incorporated in the report of Mr. Jenkins goes to said Vinayakrao. His was employed by Mr. Jenkins to assist him by collecting the necessary materials for the preparation of the report, though the fact has not been acknowledged in the report itself. He was occupied in making copies of the historical accounts, obtaining oral testimony from the old residents and more especially in searching carefully through the court correspondence and accounts. The result of his researches is recorded in the manuscripts of his several volumes. A brief notice of these volumes will not be out of place.

(a) A history of the Bhonslas of Nagpur. It is the result of the strenuous efforts of the author for 13 years. He began his work in 1809 when he entered the service of the resident and made use of 32 works, both Marathi and Persian, including the original court correspondence and the state accounts. The work was finished in 1823 and it brought the history up to date, *i.e.*, upto 1822. It is interesting to look into the list of works, consulted, which are noted in the introduction.

(b) An enlarged edition of the above work. It deals with the history upto 1808. The last incident noted is the death of Chimna bai, mother of Raghoji II at Ramtek in 1809.

(c) Historical and statistical account of Nagpur and its rulers with special reference to the administration of Raghoji II upto 1812. The first part deals with the statistics of the parganas revenue of Deogarh, the mutsaddis and sardars, houses and shops at Nagpur, land taxes, exports and imports, court dues, notes on procedure, forms of documents, lakes and temples, agricultural products and rents. The middle portion deals with the history of the rulers and the final part gives the list of the districts, their revenue, products, weights and measures, prices of food at the military encampments, list of grants, mutsaddis and officers, children of the Bhonslas out of wedlock and names of the Mahomedan and other chieftains.

(d) Concise history of the Bhonsla rajahs upto the death of Raghoji II and accession of Appasahib. This was written by Vinayakrao at the request of the officers of the rajah's court in 1816. To this work has been appended a short account of the officers of the court.

(e) Kaifiyats or statements of the court officers like Bhawani Pant, Narayan Ghatge, Mahadaji Naik, Hitayat Ali and others.

(f) History of Berar upto 1803. Last part deals with the religious sects in Berar.

(g) Copies of the official correspondence of the court, documents, sanads and other papers from the ancient times till 1803. Vinayakrao mentions in the introduction that he obtained the papers from the Nagpur silekhana and also from Gangadharrao Chitnavis.

He prepared the volume in 1819. Gangadharrao, he mentions, was a brother of Krishnarao who was adopted son of Chimaji Rukhmangad. Rukhmangad Ganesh Prabhu, father of the said Chimaji, was appointed chitnavis to Raghoji I by Shahu Rajah of Satara when Raghoji I himself was appointed Sena Sahib Subah of Nagpur.

(h) Copies of the letters sent by Raghoji II from 1794 to 1810. Vinayakrao secured these copies from the house of Chitnavis which family acted as secretary to the rulers of Nagpur. These letters were sent to Daulatrao Sindia, Yeshvantrao Holkar, Bajirao II Pewhwa, Balaji Nanna, Sarjerao Ghatge, Amritrao and General Wellesley.

(i) An abstract of the official correspondence of Raghoji II from 1794 to 1799. These are the abstracts of about 113 letters received by Raghoji II.

(j) A collection of sanads, appointments and alms made to his relations, officers and the brahmins respectively by Raghoji II. These are copies of the documents issued during the period from 1799 to 1803.

(k) Miscellaneous information about Nagpur and its rulers. It was compiled in 1823.

(l) A note on the Chhattisgarh division. It was compiled while Vinayakrao was on tour in the division in the camp of Richard Jenkins in 1823.

(m) A note on the Chandrapur division. It was also compiled while Vinayakrao was in the camp of Mr. Jenkins in that division in 1820.

(n) A descriptive note on the sacred places in the Central Provinces and also stories in connection with them.

Vinayakrao is thus responsible for leaving behind a vast store of information regarding Nagpur, its rulers and territories especially with respect to Raghoji II and his successors with whom Vinayakrao was contemporary. All these volumes are preserved in the official library of the India Office, as they were compiled at the instance and order of Mr. Richard Jenkins; these volumes are available for study to the research scholars. Services of Mr. Jenkins at the court of the rajah of Nagpur, were recognised by the supreme government of India and he was, after serving as resident of Nagpur for twenty years, Knighted in 1827 and also was appointed as one of the directors of the East India Company.

The Persian Akhbarat of 1779-1818 A.D.

[By Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, M.A., D.Litt., LL.B.]

The actual scope of the immense volume of the correspondence, official or private, carried on in the English language during these years between the various British officials stationed at different posts in India, is limited mainly to subjects of immediate interest to the British officials, and hence in them there is no reference at all either to events of Indian and local interest, or to the happenings in the provinces beyond the British sphere. Thus, the contemporary sources in the English language do not at all tell us anything about the very important developments and happenings on the Indian side, without a full knowledge of which it is not possible to trace nor to understand fully the history of those provinces in the interior during these momentous decades.

Therefore, for full details of these events and happenings one has to search for the extant contemporary sources in the Indian or other Oriental languages. In my search for such original and hitherto unused sources relating to the history of Malwa after 1766, I came across the descriptions of a big number of volumes containing the Persian Akhbarat or news-letters, which are lying stored up in the various Persian collections in England. In 1937 I secured from the British Museum the rotographs of two volumes of such Akhbarat relating to the period 1779-1786. Sir Jadunath Sarkar carefully examined these two volumes and wrote to me, "These two volumes of Akhbarat have thrown a flood of light on the obscure years 1781-3. We get a microscopic view of the Delhi court and government during the four months of 1781. It explains vividly why the Mughal Empire fell." This encouraged me greatly, and I secured micro-films of the remaining twenty-three volumes of such Akhbarat which covered the period of 1785-1818 A.D. Out of these volumes two are from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, five from the British Museum, London, and the remaining sixteen are all from the India Office Library, London. These volumes constitute all the available Persian Akhbarat to be found in the public collections in England, and no copy of any one of the them is available in India. Lately I have been able to get copied the volume of Akhbarat from July 7 to October 7, 1787, a transcript of which was secured by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from Sir Salar Jang's Library in Hyderabad (Deccan). This big mass of original raw materials of Indian History runs into 26 volumes and covers more than 5,000 folios of varying sizes. All these volumes are collections of news-letters, or the abstract and compendium of different news-letters received at various centres from different capitals or camps, noteworthy towns and cities, and other places of political importance in the country.

Till Lord Lake took it in 1803, Delhi continued to be an important centre and a hot-bed of political intrigues in northern India. Therefore, among the mass of such news-letters of the period prior to 1803, the number of those received from Delhi is the largest, and they are very important as well. Delhi was still the centre of much activity, and the important chiefs and generals round about it, still under the nominal suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor, were either in revolt against the Emperor and his regent, or were busy campaigning and fighting on their behalf against the Marathas the Rajput Princes of Rajputana, the Ruhelas, the Sikhs and the Jats;

news from all these fields of activity was reported in detail at the Court and was duly included in such news-letters. The Akhbarat supply detailed most accurately dated and correct reports of these happenings, which are nowhere else recorded. Moreover, there used to pour into Delhi and later into Lucknow similar news-letters even from distant centres, and hence in the Akhbarat of 1781 we come across reports of the events during the First Maratha War, not only in its northern theatre but also from Konkan and Gujrat. In all these news-letters from Delhi generally there are reports of the daily doings of the Emperor and of his Prime Minister. It is interesting to note that in the later news-letters from Delhi, there was used an additional slip to record the daily doings of the English Resident stationed there.

In northern and central India there were, however, many important centres of political activity other than Delhi, especially the camps of Daulat Rao Sindhia, Yeshwant Rao Holkar and Bhonsla of Berar ; there are also some news-letters giving detailed accounts of the movements and activities of Siddiq Ali, the general of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, the Pindaris and their leader, Amir Khan. Out of the volumes containing the Akhbarat of the years 1809-1818, five have been titled as " Akhbar Nagpur ", and they mostly refer to the affairs of Nagpur and the Berar principality. In many of these volumes there are Persian translations of Marathi news-letters, prepared for the use of the English Residents at the courts of Poona and Nagpur in the absence of the originals, these translations are also very valuable.

In the records thus available to us there are many big and important gaps. We have no Akhbarat for years 1788-1792, 1798-1803 and 1806-1808, while in the case of many other years the material available is very meagre.

In his third volume of " The Fall of the Mughal Empire ", Sir Jadunath Sarkar has fully utilised the Akhbarat for the years 1779-1787, but only so far as they relate to his theme of the Delhi Central Government. Irrelevant details connected with the History of Rajputana, Malwa and other out-lying provinces are still to be examined and utilised. The history of the Marathas, specially in Malwa and Central Provinces, during those terrible years of complete anarchy (1808-1818), is yet to be written. It can be asserted that a study of these Akhbarat will greatly help us in having a thorough grasp of the inner working of the Maratha diplomacy, in analysing their policy during the period, and in clearly indicating the different confused issues which all go to make the history of the period so difficult and complicated.

In conclusion let me add that in Appendix A I have given as samples the translation of some Akhbarat which are sure to interest the readers. I have also given a rough chronological analysis of the contents of all these 26 volumes in Appendix B to this paper, which will prove helpful to the students. Sir Jadunath has carefully examined and finally settled the dates of the various Akhbarat covering the period 1779-1787. But in the case of many Akhbarat of a later period their correct dates remain to be finally ascertained, specially where either no year has been given or there is some mistake and confusion about it. These corrections can, however, be made only on a more thorough and fuller examination.

Appendix B will be amplified when the large mass of *Akhbarat* in the Alienation Office, Poona, have been reproduced (by a photographic process) for me. Their number exceeds 5,000 sheets and they mostly relate to the period 1805-1817, with only a few hundred of an earlier date than 1804.

APPENDIX A.

Translations of four Akhbarat.

I.—*Akhbar from Delhi, dated the 11th Shawal (10th October, 1780).*

[Br. Mus. Mss. Add. 25,021. ff. 290b-292-b.]

(f. 290b).

The Emperor's Court.

In the morning the Emperor came to the rosary Chamber ; his officials bowed to him.

He received the news of Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan, who had reached the port of Muscat en-route to Mecca. (f. 291a) There the Habshi Sardars showed kindness and greatly honoured him. Thence he went to Jedda, which is 50 *kos* distant from Mecca, and there on account of averse climate he fell ill and halted there for some months. From Jedda he returned back to Muscat and asked for a loan from the Habshi Sardars, who refused. At last Ghaziuddin sent two couriers to Hyderabad to his family for money. When he gets it he will proceed to Mecca.

After reading the news the Emperor remarked that the traitors have always been subject to misery and ruin ; and he prayed for the traitor's death so that no body could have the courage to hear his name.

Then the Emperor called for a bottle of *Itra* (essence) of Motiyā, from inside the palace, and gave 4 *tolas* of the same to each of the 14 Begams and also sent 4 *tolas* to the house of Nawab Sahibā Mahal.

The Emperor told Maulvi Atāullah that, Nawab Zulfiqāruddaulah Bahadur (i.e., Mirza Najaf Khan) has given much *jaidad* to his soldiers, but has not provided for the pay of the two companies under Saiyyad Karim, which were in the Emperor's service till then. (f. 291b) The Emperor further added, " If God so wishes the things will not continue in this state and will be attended to in time." The Maulvi replied, " Their pay will be sent along with that of the Royal attendants."

It was reported to the Emperor that Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar were respectively at Ujjain and Indore upto 20th Ramzan (19th September 1780). Nana Fadnavis was at Poona. He had collected 50,000 horse and had decided to begin his march on the Desherā day.

The petition of a Konkan *qiledār* (probably Bassein) was received which reported that the English army besieged the fort and a battle was fought with cannons and *rakkālās*. The provisions in the fort were sufficient for two months only. The English were asking for the fort. Hence Nana Fadnavis has sent 5,000 *gardi* foot with artillery and 4,000 well-horsed cavalry to the *qiledar*. After this the Emperor entered the palace. Rest was all well.

News of Nawab Amirulumra Zulfiqaruddaulah Najaf Khan.

(f. 292a) Shivrām Pandit was sent to Nawab Zabita Khan that he might have the audience with Emperor, because he was to be given congee on that very day.

Bishandās, the Kashmiri *sahukar* of Benarēs, paid a visit through Aghā Sâdiq, and presented one *mohar* and five rupees. He was given a *shawl* and one earring in return.

The petition of Almās (?) Ali Khan was seen.

Trimbak Rāo, Mansā Rām and Shobhā Rām, the vakils of Gangādhar, Bālādhar Rāo Rāmchandra, Rājdhār, Raghunāth Rāo of *Makāsadārs* of Jhansi, etc., interview through the mediation of Raja Himmat Bahādur. Each one of them presented 5 rupees and received in return 1 *shawl*. Raja Himmat Bahādur showed the letters of *Makāsadārs* addressed to the Raja himself. The Nawab asked Trimbak Rāo to be with Raja Himmat Bahādur along with his own contingents, and added that all the matters of his *muwaqqils* will be set right by the Emperor.

(f. 292b) According to the wishes of the Emperor, five bottles of the *muskh* of Bed were sent to the camp of Malavi Atāullah.

Mehdi Quli Khan was ordered to call the vakils of Jaipur to his own camp, settle about the tribute, and to bring them to the presence.

Muhammad Yāqub Khan came from the Emperor and went away after having his talk (with Najaf Khan).

It was known from the Jaipur news-letters that Raja Pratap Singh (of Māchheri) was preparing for a war, and every Sardar, who visited him from the neighbourhood, was sent by him to Daler Singh and Devi after giving them robes of honour.

After this the Nawab entered his palace.

II.—*Akhbar from Mahadji Sindhia's Camp. 11th and 12th Shawwal (July 27th and 28th 1787). Salar Jang Ms. Tarikh, No. 4329, pp. 36-41.*

[*An account of the Battle of Lālsot, July 27-28 1787.*]

(P. 36). 11th Shawwal (July 27th). The news received from Jodhpur yesterday night (July 26th) was seen. The Jodhpur Raja sent about 7 to 8 thousand horse and foot towards Sāmbhar. He also sent letters to the Rajas of Bundi, Kotah, and Bikaner asking them why they did not send their contingents to Jaipur.

Raja Bakht Singh, says, "The Patel (Mahadji) has a quarrel with Jodhpur and not with Jaipur".

It was reported that a man had come to Ambaji from Daulat Rām; he talked for long at night, and then went away. This made Mahadji angry who said, "I shall never accept money, I shall devastate Jodhpur and Jaipur."

News reached from the Jaipur camp, "The Raja is planning a night attack. Reinforcements from Bundi and Kotah have arrived and joined. The Khichis from Rāghogarh have also come."

On the 11th (Shawwal = July 27), a letter from Rānā Khan and Ambāji reached Mahadji that the Jaipur patrol fell upon the foragers of the Sarkar (the Marathas). Ambāji, therefore, rode with all his army and went there. The battle lasted for 4 *gharis*: one *pagūh* sardar and 10-12 men were slain. Ambāji brought 21 horses, while men of the Jaipur Raja carried away many horses, ponies, camels and beasts.

Two hundred *Tilangās* who had deserted the Maratha army, went to Bakhshi Bhorāj, who consoled them and gave them expenses.

The Dhā-Bhāi (foster mother's son) of the Raja of Jaipur carried away from Kushalgarh about 200 oxen of provisions and ponies. He wounded 200 men.

(P. 37). One hundred Ruhelas and 200 Najib went off to the Raja.

Rānā Khan sent the Jaipur Raja's letter to him to Mahadji. It purported, "I have always behaved like a *Zamindār* and never acted contrarily. I am ready to pay the contribution even now. It is better for both parties (to settle) the tribute. But if you want to seize my *Raj* and will not accept money, why are you delaying to fight. Come on tomorrow with army and artillery. I too shall be ready."

A letter was sent in reply to this to Rānā Khan to ride with all his army and artillery one watch before dawn. Mahadji ordered his own army too to prepare and to be at the *Deorhi* one watch before the dawn.

Next morning (12 Shawwal = 28th July) he woke four *gharis* before the dawn. He allowed 5 cannons to be got ready in his army. He performed his *pujā* and bath, and rode out to Rānā Khan's former camp and sat down there.

A pair of messengers brought the news that the patrols of the Raja came as usual and stood ready. The Raja's *sawāri* was also ready. The skirmish was going on between the posts of both sides.

Another report reached that the Jaipur troops carried off the Maratha foragers. Rānā Khan crossed the river with all his troops and guns and went on that side. Ambāji, Rāmāji and other sardars were standing with their troops drawn up for battle.

(P. 38). It was reported that Muhammad Beg Handāni was planning to come to the left and fall on Rānā Khan's trenches. The Rathors had taken up the *bida* (betel leaf) in the presence of the Jaipur Raja vowing not to return without victory or death.

It was reported that Mahadji's troops had gone one *kos* beyond the river; while the Jaipur patrol has advanced one *kos* towards this side. Cannon balls were being showered from the two sides. But as the enemy's guns were larger their shots reached the Maratha ranks and killed many men and horses, while the shots fired from the cannons of the Maratha side did not reach the Rajput army. Mahadji sent four big guns to Rānā Khan.

It was reported that the Rathors made the Maratha shots their companions and advanced their trenches forward Muhammad Beg Khan fell on Rao Raja, who was shaken. Mahadji sent Bābuji Vitthal Rao, and other sardars were pushed up to reinforce the Rao Raja.

A messenger brought the news that the battle had passed from cannonade to fight with arrows, muskets, lances, swords and rockets. On hearing this Mahadji rode out to near Bidarkhā. A camel courier brought the news that 3-4 thousand Rathors had fallen on the artillery of Apā Khāndoji and pushed back the Nāgās and the Mughal sardars. Hundreds of Nāgās and other troops had been slain with sword. Meanwhile, De Boigne stepped back a few paces and formed his lines again and began to fire his guns, but the Rathors heeded it not.

(P. 39). Then Rāmāji Pātil, Ambāji and Bābuji Vitthal arrived to reinforce, and the entire army charged; even then the Rathors did not retreat. At last the followers of Murtazā Khan's sons dismounted from their horses and began to fight with swords.

Rānā Khan sent up some guns, then the Rathors retreated and went back to their army. The trenches of Khāndoji which had fallen were now restored. In this fighting, Malhār Rao Pawar Chimnāji, dewan of Vitthal Rao, the nephew of that Rao, Gazi Khan the brother of Murtazā Khan and other sardars were wounded. Shambhuji Sindhia and many sardars of *pagah* and other *silehdars* were slain. Gazi Khan received two such wounds from swords that it is difficult for him to live. There were nearly one thousand killed and wounded on Mahadji's side, while 250 horses were carried off by the enemies.

A pair of messengers came from the Rathor army and reported that one *Bhandārī* and other sardars, and about 4-5 hundred men were wounded, and one hundred horses were carried off by the Marathas.

Camel couriers brought the news that the Rathors attacked Ambāji's trenches. and Ambāji fell back. Meanwhile Mahadji's army was reinforced and the Rathors retreated. The Rathors made three or four attempts to fall on the Maratha guns, but got no opportunity. The Jaipur Raja's troops wished to fall on Rānā Khan's force.

(P. 40). Hence Mahadji sent reinforcements. He ordered that *pālki*s of all the sardars be taken to the battle-field to bring back the wounded. The Jaipur cannon-balls, that had been brought to him by some, weighed from 5 to 14 seers.

News reached that an attendant of Rānā Khan, who was standing near Rānā Khan's horse was killed by a gun-shot. *Jamādārs* of Khwājā Niāmātullah and Jamshed Beg were slain and wounded (respectively).

Mahadji ordered that vakils, both Hindustāni and Deccani, should prepare a list of the wounded and submit it to him. He also summoned five camel-loads of rupees from his treasure-box.

It was reported by some men that the *Tilangās*, the Turk *sawārs*, Murtazā Khan's sons, De Boigne's paltan, Bābuji Vitthal Rao and the Pawars showed great exertions and bravery otherwise the result of the battle would have been an utter defeat. Those who were present urged that if the Jaipur Raja's army returned to its camp, they too should return, if otherwise, they too should remain there and cannonade.

Some men urged Mahadji that the Rajas of the neighbourhood were waiting for the arrangements of their tributes, and now when the news of this battle reaches them they would all unite and make a row in the country and come to the aid of the Jaipur Raja. If an army is sent from the Deccan to the help of Mahadji it would take time. Therefore, they advised him to exert fully and deal a final blow in a day or two, and thus end the business.

It was said the Rānā Khan was called for consultation, and his advice was followed.

It was reported that most of the Hindustāni troops and *paltans* (p. 41) would seize the opportunity and desert to the Raja at night. The cannonade from both sides continued till two *gharis* after nightfall. Total number of those killed and wounded in the battle amounted to 2 to 3 thousand men.

III.—*Akhbar from Daulat Rao Sindhia's Court, dated the 29th Shaban, 1209 A.H. (March 12, 1795), Br. Mus. Ms. Add. 24,036. ff. 136a-138b.*

[*An account of the Battle of Kharda, March 11-12, 1795.*]*

(P. 136a.) Halting place, the same (Pimpalgāon Alva), on the bank of the river (Kanari).

The letter dated yesterday (March 11) received from Jiyāji Bakshi, was read. It was reported therein that after arranging for the army and stores, the Nawab-Nāzim [*i.e.*, the Nizam] (f. 136b) had marched from his halting place, and Jiyāji too rode in his pursuit. The battle was being fought with guns and *rah-kalas*. The Nawab-Nāzim sent four gangs (of troops); the first was sent against Jiyāji and Perron, the second one was sent towards Bābā Phadkiā and Parashrām Bhāu, the third one was despatched towards the army of Raghuji Bhonsle, Tukoji Subahdār and others, while the fourth one was sent to be in rear of these three, to take the stores, etc., and to reinforce any of these forces if a need arose.

On reading the news, (the Sindhia) sent messengers and camel-riders to the battle-field to bring the news. The booming of the guns was being constantly heard. When four *gharis* of night passed, a camel-rider brought the news that, when only one *pahar* of day had remained, the Nawab-Nāzim and Mashir-ul-Mulk along with the forces of Musā Rahmun faced Jiyāji Bakhshi, (f. 137a) and others from the army of Sindhia; while Roshan Khan, Bhārāmal, Rao Rambhā Nimbālkar and others faced Bābā Phadkiā, the army of Raghuji Bhonsle and the rest.

The fight with Parashrām Bhāu and Khānderao Vitthal passed from shots and bullets to swords. In the first attack Parashrām Bhāu, Bābā Phadkiā and others retreated but the platoons of Michael [Filoze ?] and John [James Dupont ?] fired from the ambuscade a volley of muskets at the army of the enemy, which fled away. It was reported that Rao Rambhā Nimbālkar and Bhārāmal were killed. Parashrām Bhāu himself and Miāni Majhkal, the nephew of Miāni Habib Shah, were both wounded. The nephew of Parashrām Bhāu was killed. (f. 137b) When two *gharis* of night passed, the Nawab-Nāzim turned back for his former halting place. The Maratha army pursued them and brought back a corpse of an elephant-riding sardar with a kettle-drum and flag, and 10 or 12 Europeans as captives.

A great battle had been fought and many men on both sides were killed or wounded. The men of the Sindhia's army, who were standing there since the morning, had nothing to eat for the whole day. On knowing this, the Maharaja sent on camels 50 maunds of parched gram and a few water-bags full of water.

Then Govind Rao Haklā (Pingle ?) and Sakhārām Pandit, the vakils of Nana Fadnavis, came, and the Maharaja held consultations with them, and said that next day he would march from that place and encamp at a distance of 2 *kos* on this side of Jiyāji Bakhshi's camp. The Maharaja further added that it would be better if the Peshwa too left his halting place. The Peshwa came out and the sound of the volley was heard:

When half *pahar* of night remained, the messengers brought the news that on account of the pursuit by the Maharaja's army, the Nawab-Nāzim could not return to his former halting place and was stopping half-way. The Sindhia's army plundered

*It would be interesting to read this account along with letters No. 178-181A from 'Poona Residency correspondence' Series, Vol. IV, pp. 238-249.

the store, tents, furniture, etc. of the Nawab-Nāzim, while the horse-men of the enemy attacked the camp of Sindhia. The Maharaja heard this news from a messenger, and when one *pahar* of night had remained, he (f. 138b) rode out to the camp of Jiyāji Bakhshi, and all camps remained vigilant and prepared (to oppose these enemies). It was also reported that tents, store, etc. would be called for only after ascertaining the truth of the statement.

Many men from the Maratha side were killed in this battle. Perron's camp was attacked by the horse-men of the Nawab-Nāzim, but the details of the attack have not yet been received and shall be reported when known. The armies of both the sides were firm. The full details of the happenings of the day till this evening are yet to be known.

It was reported that two guns and many horses were plundered from the army of the Nawab-Nāzim. The detailed account will be sent afterwards when fully gathered.

IV. Akhbar Nagpur, According to the reports heard from the messenger, dated the 20th and 21st March, 1818. I. O. No. 2993. ff. 46a = 47a.

(f. 46a). A pair of messengers came to Nagpur from the camp of Ganpat Rao Subadār and orally reported that the Peshwa along with the Raja of Satārā, Chimmā Appā, Dhaklā (Pingle?), Nipankar, Goklā, Ganpat Rao Subadār, and all other sardars, big or small, halted at Karelā village, which is at a distance of six *kos* from Pandharpur. The English army knew this and made a night attack on the army of Peshwa. Many soldiers on the side of the Peshwa were killed or wounded. Being defeated the Marathas went to a village, seized it, and halted there.

(f. 46b). On the following day the English army moved up to that village and made another night-attack on the Peshwa's army. All the forces of the Peshwa perished. The Peshwa fled to Konkan with 3,000 horse-men. During his flight the brother of Raja of Satārā fell into the hands of the horse-men in the English army, who captured him. The mother of the Raja (of Satara) heard of the arrest of her son, and sent a message to the commander of the English army asking that she might be permitted to go and meet her son. The officer of the army brought the mother and son to Poona with all due honour. The brother of the Raja was kept with all pomp and honour in a large tent outside the city (of Poona). His mother was kept under guard in a *haveli* within the city.*

The English horse-men have gone in pursuit of the Peshwa. The Peshwa returned from the Konkan, (f. 47a) and had reached somewhere near Pandharpur. At this time the Peshwa had no artillery with him, hence he called for guns from some fort.

After this event [battle of Ashta], Ganpat Rao Subahdar had sent some money with a pair of messengers to his prostitute at Nagpur for her expenses. The messengers reached (Nagpur). They had heard the news of the arrest of Raja Appā [Bhonsle of Nagpur] [March 15, 1818]. A pair of messengers reached Nagpur and there remained in disguise for three days.

Bargāhe Bālājā Madār called Rāmāji Guru and asked him about the treasures, buried or otherwise. The Pandit continued to be at the *Deorhi*, while four cart-loads of Rambax's goods reached the palace. Every thing else is well.

*This is obviously a distorted account of the battle of Ashtā (Feb. 19, 1818) and the events that victory of the British.

APPENDIX B.

A Rough Chronological Analysis of the Akhbarat.

(Bod. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. I. O. = India Office Library, London. Add. and Or. = Mss. from the British Museum, London).

1779—

Sept. 12—Oct. 10. Add. 25,021. ff. 246b-270b.

1780—

Feb. 7—March 10. Add. 25,020. ff. 2b-50a.

Sept. 14—Sept. 28. Add. 25,021. ff. 1a-25a.

Sept. 30—Nov. 16. Add. 25,021. ff. 271a-389b.

1781—

Feb. 28—June 22. Add. 25,020. ff. 50b-345b.

July 14—Aug. 20. Add. 25,021. ff. 157b-245b.

1872—

June 16. Add. 25,021. ff. 112b-115b.

1783—

June 2—July 10. Add. 25,021. ff. 91a-188a.

Oct. 28—Nov. 20. Add. 25,021. ff. 39a-90b.

N.B.—The Akhbarat of this year are mixed with those of other years.

1784—

May 23—June 29. Add. 25,021. ff. 99a-192a. Scattered.

July 9 (Probably). Add. 25,021. ff. 34a.

Oct. 23—Nov. 12. Add. 25,021. ff. 25b-36b. The month as given in the Ms. is wrong.

1785—

Jan. 14. Bod. Ms. Pers. d. 15. ff. 2a-3a.

1786—

Jan. 31—Feb. 7. Bod. Ms. Pers. d. 15. ff. 3b-7b.

Feb. 15—Mar. 25. Bod. Ousley Add. 162. ff. 1a-18b.

May 11—May 12. Add. 25,021. ff. 129b-132b.

1787—

April 30. Add. 25,021. ff. 130a.

July 7—Oct. 7. Salar Jang Ms. Tarikh No. 4329, p. 244. (of my copy).

1788—1792.—Nil.

1993—1796.

Oct. 30, 1793. Feb. 10, 1796. Add. 24,036. ff. 600.

Sept. 3, 1795—Oct. 7, 1795. Or. 4609. ff. 140.

Oct. 9, 1795—Feb. 2, 1796. Or. 4608. ff. 283.

1797—1798—

Jan. 18 & Feb. 15, 1797. Delhi Akhbar, I. O. No. 4368. ff. 47a-48a.

1797-1798. Stray Akhbarat. I.O. No. 4807. ff. 22.

1799—1803.—Nil.

1804—1805—

Nov.—Dec. (1804 ?), March 21. April 30 (1805 ?), etc. Akhbar Lord Lake and Daulat Rao Sindhia. I. O. No. 4368. ff. 13b-46a.

Years of these Akhbarat not specified, hence needs to be verified.

May 20—21, 1805 Col. Burn. I. O. No. 4368. ff. 12a-13b.

1806—1808.—Nil.

1809—1813—

Delhi.—

Jan. 1—31, March 1—31, April 11-30 and Oct. 1810. I. O. No. No. 4343. ff. 225.

June 1—30, 1810. Add. 24,038. ff. 1-56.

Feb. 1—June 30, 1811. I. O. No. 4344. ff. 243.

Hyderabad—

Dec. 1809, Jan. 1—Sept. 6, 1810, and March 5—June 30, 1811. I. O. No. 4340. ff. 230.

Nov. 20, 1809—March 30, 1810, and Feb. 17, 1811—Add. 24,037. ff. 83-132.

Marathas—

1809-1811. Akhbars of Jaswant Rao Holkar, I. O. No. 4345, ff. 49.

Dec. 23, 1809—March 24, 1810. Akhbars of Holkar and his generals. Add. 24,037. ff. 133-138.

Dec. 3, 1809—March 9, 1810. Akhbar—Siddiq Ali, the general of Bhonsle, Add. 24,037, ff. 1-82.

Jan. 24—25, 1810. Akhbar Siddiq Ali, I. O. No. 4368. ff. 9b-11b.

Feb. 8—Dec. 8, 1810, Akhbar, Nagpur. I. O. No. 2945. ff. 276.

Nov. 1812—Dec. 17, 1813. Akhbar Nagpur, I. O. No. 2947. ff. 192.

Dec. 27, 1811—Spt. 6, 1812. I. O. No. 2949. ff. 303.

1814—

June 24—Dec. 31. Akhbar Nagpur, I. O. No. 2948. ff. 358.

1815—1816—

Nov. 1815—Sept. 1816. Maratha affairs. The year specified is in many cases wrong.

1817—

Jan. 2—Sept. 28.—Akhbar Sindhia. I. O. No. 2991. ff. 167.

1818—

Jan. 1—Dec. 31. Akhbar Nagpur. I. O. No. 2993. ff. 247.

Defence of the Frontier of Bihar and Orissa against Maratha and Pindari incursions (1800--1819).

[By Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.]

The frontier of Behar was exposed to predatory inroads of the Marathas. W. Hunter, Majistrate of Ramghur, requested R. B. Gregory, officer commanding at Hazaribagh, to return to Burwa to expel Hurry Ram Shahy and his Marathas and to apprehend some insurgents such as Joy Mungal Singh, Phurdwan of Burwah, Bhoge Roy of Nowaghur, Joykisen Roy, late Dewan of Nagpur and others (1795). Hurry Ram made incursions from the jungles of Burwa adjoining Sargooja. Moreover the choors from Nagpur had been boldly plundering the villages of Ramghur, and the help of sepoys had to be sought to expel them. There was one notorious dacoit named Assmaun Roy who with his party of 200 men was plundering the villages about Ragonathpore. Thakoor Bholanath Singh and his adherents were making depredations in pergunah Golah. Raja Deonath Shahy, Zamindar of Chotanagpore, complained that a party of Marathas consisting of 500 horse and 500 burkandazes had plundered and laid waste five of his pergunas. A gang of about 1,500 plundered Pachet. This was joined by Bholanath Singh at the instigation, it was supposed, of Raja Guror Narain, whose zemindary of Chakla was sold for arrears of revenue (1798). Many villages (*e.g.*, Chourassy, Cossapur, etc.) were similarly looted. Bholanath soon gained accession in strength. T. H. Welsh, Com. Detachment informed Major D. Marshall, Comg. Ramgurh Battalion, "that Choors do not distress and plunder the ryots, but plunder the cutcheries of the British." (1st Sep. 1798.)

Relatives of zemindars became disaffected owing to the non-satisfaction of their ambition and turned plunderers, *e.g.*, Mokoondeet Singh the uncle of Bikramadit, the minor Zemindar of Pathkum, plundered two villages, murdering and wounding several men. The young Zemindar had to be sent to Chatra for safety. The officer commanding the Ramgarh battalion was requested to despatch a military force to apprehend him. Notorious dacoits were perpetrating atrocities over a wide area. Kunuah Sing and others burnt and plundered the cutchery of the Attamghadar at Kataur. There were disturbances in Bilounja to quell which Major E. Broughton sent Lt. Higgott with a company of sepoys. Foud Singh, the notorious dacoit who was infesting the Jheria district was apprehended. Other dacoits were confined at Jhalda (1803).

Thus the country was more or less in a disturbed state, and it was necessary to protect it from the outside enemy. The Secretary to Government entrusted Major Broughton with the task of defending the line of frontier extending from the south extremity of Pachete to the banks of the Sone. It was apprehended that in the event of hostility breaking out between the British Government and the Raja of Berar, the Company's territory would be ravaged by the troops of Berar and the people of the frontier pergunas. So some instructions were given for the guidance of the officer commanding. The frontier of Mirzapore to south and west of the Sone, comprising part of Singrawli pergunah should be included in the line of the frontier entrusted to the Ramgurh battalions measures to be taken to open several depots of provisions for the moving troops, trusty emissaries to be stationed within Berar and on the eastern

frontier of the Raja of Berar's territories, the battalion to be formed into two equal detachments each with a couple of field pieces to be stationed one in Chotanagpore, and the other at Oontari or Bilounja. It was necessary to secure the assistance of the frontier Rajas and Zemindars, without which no plan of saving the frontier from ravages could be devised. Two passes in Chotanagpur were in possession of some delinquent jagirdars, and of the two courses of dealing with them, *viz.*, expulsion and apprehension or conciliation, the latter to be preferred; Major Broughton was authorised to give assurances of pardon when necessary. A perwana from the Governor-General was issued to the following zamindars to obtain support—Raja Guror Narain Deo of Pachete, Raja Deonauth Sahy Deo of Nagpur (Chotanagpur), Moneynaut Singh of Ramghur, Bikramajeet Singh of Patkum, Churaman Roy Deo of Palamau, Bhoopnath Sahy of Bilounja and Syed Kazim Ally, Altamghadar of Bilounja. The Major was ordered to employ adequate number of burkandaz and to take measures to enforce the stipulation of Col. Jone's treaty. About 20,000 Marathas were scattered through Bamra, Banai, Raighur and Sambalpur. Some Zamindars fled to the hills and jungles, some of them made entreaties for assistance. From a letter of Col. Jones to the Chief Secretary it appeared that the Rajas of Sambalpur and adjacent territories were disposed to concur with the Company. Any way it was necessary to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the Zemindars and Ghatwars, among whom a set of signals was distributed to secure speedy communication of intelligence from pass to pass. Bilounja was more important as it contained many passes which it was necessary to guard. The ryots who were rack-rented by Kazim Ali were pacified, and the zealous and active co-operation of Raja Bhupnath Sahy was secured. The frontier from Rohtas (lying to the north of the Sone) to Mirzapur did not cause much anxiety, as it could be penetrated through Baghelkund, whose Raja Ajit Singh, a powerful and independent zamindar, was not well disposed towards Berar. One hundred sixty miles of frontier to be defended lay opposite to Sirgooja.

Major Broughton who was entrusted with the defence of the frontier from the west border of Midnapore to the Sone advised the exclusion of the pergunah of Singrowli in the Mirzapur district from his jurisdiction and its division into two parts, one to be under the Raja of Burdee and the other to form part of Zila Mirzapur. The magistrates of Ramghur and Birbhum were vigilant about the maintenance of tranquillity in their districts. A numerous body of Chuars made a daring attack upon a Havildar's party killing two sepoys. Military precaution was taken to protect Pachete and the adjoining pergunas. The Ramghur battalion marched to defend the boundary line between Palamau and Sirgooja. The frontier jagirdars (with the exception of three) did not evince any disposition to assist in the defence of the frontier. Information was received (13th October 1803) from the Resident in Sirgooja that 10,000 Maratha horse arrived at Ruttanpore under command of Deen Sahye and had an engagement with the English. 3,000 horse went to Sambalpur, and 6,000 to Cuttack, while a party of 4,000 proceeded to assist the Peshwa (25th October, 1803).

Major Broughton reported on the inadequacy of the force under him for the general defence of so extensive a frontier, and of Sambalpur (November 1804). Precaution was taken to preserve peace and tranquillity in Birbhum, Ramghur, Palamau and Bilaunja (1804).

The Major reported the apprehension of Antuji Naik the Agent to the Raja of Berar in Khurda (February 1805). Close watch was kept on the movement of Amrit

Rao and Nana Saheb and Major Roughsedge was appointed to attend the former as guard of honour at Benares.

Meanwhile Mokoondeet Singh was disturbing the peace of Patkum, and Decanny Sahy, a powerful, Chuar jagirdar, that of Tamar. Raja Joujhar Singh of Raighur was warned not to give encouragement to the Rani of Sambalpur and others in their opposition to the Raja of Berar (1807). Major Roughsedge, assisted by Lt. H. Sinnock, ultimately secured the persons of Mokoondeet Singh, Dacanny Sahy and other dacoits (twentyone in number) who were despatched to Bancoorah (1808), accompanied by evidence. He obtained information from R. Jenkins, Acting Resident of Nagpore, that the Rani of Sambalpur had taken refuge in the Company's territory on her fort having been taken by the troops of Nana Saheb under Ram Chunder Waugh. In order to pacify Chotanagpur it was resolved by the Governor General in Council to remit the fines and interest due from the Raja to the amount of sicca rupees 13,000.

In 1810 some other disturbances were brewing. Roughsedge informed Jenkins about the renewal of the claims of the Raja of Sirgooja to the pergunah of Burwa. He also informed the Secretary to Government about the complaint of Raja Joujar Singh of Raighur that the Marathas were unjustly and violently claiming his villages without paying any heed to his remonstrations, and that Chundajee Bhonsla, Tantia Sardar and Kashiram Killadar were at Sambalpur with a force of four or five thousand horse and six or seven hundred men (24th February, 1810).

In 1812 there were disturbances in Nowagurh in Chotanagpore, its jagirdar, Buctour Sahy, having been guilty of murder and plunder. Lt. O'Donel who conducted military operations against the strongholds of Buctour Shahy did not meet with the expected success. His failure was reported by Roughsedge to Lt.-Col. G. H. Fagan, the Adjutant-General (1812).

In a letter dated 19th March, 1812 written from Hazaribagh, Roughsedge informed Lt. Smith Commanding Detachment Battalion 25th Regiment that the arrival in the neighbourhood of Mirzapore of a large body of predatory horse rendered it necessary for him to halt his detachment at Gaya and that Captain Sinnock had been directed to place himself at his command. Further he wrote to Lt.-Col. Fagan pointing out the necessity of his march with all available force to the menaced part of the district under his charge. This information about the Pindaris he received from the acting magistrate of Mirzapur, which he forthwith communicated to W. M. Fleming, Magistrate of Ramghur.¹

1. Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham who has edited the Shahabad Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan comments on the following passage in the Journal under date 18th December 1812—"From the south end of the hill I went about a mile to a channel containing a small stream which comes from the gap north from Rautas passing through a small camp of Marattah horse in the utmost confusion. There was nothing of military show or regularity, nor do I believe a single sentry. Beyond the river is the town of Akbarpur...." He suggests that these were Pindaris and says—H. T. Prinsep, (Vol. 1, 34, 37 Political and Military Transactions) describes how a party of Pindaris led by Fazil Khan penetrated in 1812 through Rewa into Mirzapore district "and turning east as soon as it reached the Mirzapur frontier, advanced to the neighbourhood of Gya, and then disappeared up the course of the Soane, on its way back to Malwa by the Chandya Ghat, before a single soldier from any British contingent could come up with its track." He regrets it is unfortunate that Buchanan should have treated it so summarily.

But notice the difference in dates. The records bear the dates March and April, 1812 for their appearance in the Mirzapur district and their return, whereas Buchanan came up the camp on 18th December, 1812. From a letter of Roughsedge to Major General Wood dated the 4th November 1812 we learn of the "detachment of 200 of Amrit Rao's irregular horse at the posts of Sonepoora and Ackberpore."

On 21st March 1812 he informed O'Donel that the Pindaris had advanced towards Sessaram and Daudnagurh, therefore he relinquished his intention of going to Chotanagpur and asked him to proceed with his force to Chittrra (Chatra). He informed Fagan that the Pindaris had crossed the Sone and committed depredations on Burhur, a pergunah adjoining Billounja on the west, that he was hastening towards the frontier and directed Raja Futteh Narayan to detach all the irregular force he could collect. He also informed Smith, Commanding Detachment at Gaya, that the Pindaris after crossing the Sone had appeared at Kona in perg. Burhur on the 19th inst. and were supposed to make for the north-east, and advised O'Donel what measures he should adopt in the event of their entering Palamau. On 23rd March he wrote to Major-General Wood, Commissioner Chunar, that he was marching with a part of Ramgarh battalion consisting of 340 firelocks and guns to afford protection to that part of his district which was thus menaced.¹ He further informed Fagan that the news of the appearance of the Pindaris near Daudnagar was false, and the party that committed depredations near Mirzapur withdrew by the jungle route of perg. Doodee Phoolba into the Maratha district of Sirgooja. He submitted to Edmonstone a list of properties belonging to Loll Pran Singh (younger brother of late Loll Jagernat Singh of Sirgooja) plundered by the Pindaris on 10th March. On 4th April he wrote to Col. Plumer intimating that the Pindaris met with several checks in their passage through Sirgooja to Sohagpur, especially at Harrearpore and Burula ghats, and advised Fagan to march as far as the confluence of the Rehru with the Sone. On 6th April he wrote to Major-General Watson, Commanding Dinapore that there was no reason to apprehend any incursion of the Pindaris for the present into South Behar. On 18th April he assured him that the report of the appearance of a second body of Pindaris to the southward of Rewa was unfounded. He reported to Fagan on the steps he had taken at Cotah, Singrowli, and Accouree (Agori) to defend the country against them. In order to secure that part of the British territory against their irruption, he recommended every reasonable indulgence to be shown to Raja Udwant Singh of Singrowli to attach him to public interest.²

He acquainted him with the ghats and passes in Accouree, Burhur, Bidzigarh Bijaghar) Rohtas and Bilounja, and gave him a general account of the frontier districts placed under his military charge. He also wrote to the Agent, Governor-General, recommending the conduct of Raja Run Bahadoor Singh of Accouree Burhur for supplying useful information respecting the chieftains beyond the frontier.

Vigilance was also kept on the Pindaris in the Cuttack Province (Orissa). On 14th October, 1812 J. W. Sage, Acting Magistrate, Zillah Cuttack wrote to Col. William McCulloch, Commanding at Cuttack, about the expected incursion of the Pindaris into the district. He got information of a body of Pindaris having assembled in the town of Juggernaut Pooree, their number being 110 men armed with matchlocks, swords and spears and he thought that a greater number would join them. He further wrote, "I have received private information that Rajah Mokondeo, the head of the Temple and a disaffected man is in league with the Pindharees. Whether or not my information be correct, I deem it necessary to apprise

¹ He went to Mirzapore in April. He asked W. Salmond, Collector of Benares, for the payment of Sonat Rs. 14,774-6-3 to the corps under his command (letter dated 19th June, 1812).

² Journal of Francis Buchanan; Shahabad District (JBORS XI pp. 276—77 "Singraula belongs to Udawant Singh, a Ben Bungsi Rajput, who pays tribute for 700 villages to the Company and 700 to the Marathas."

you of it that the officer commanding the detachment may not lose sight of him.' He also wrote to N. B. Edmonstone, Chief Secretary to Government, on the same date "A nephew of Ragoojee Bonsla's is approaching the frontier of the district with a large force to pay his devotions to the Temple of Juggernaut, for which he had obtained sanction of his Lordship in Council."¹

On 4th November, 1812 Roughsedge informed Fagan of the unfavourable state of Palamau and the employment of irregular horse of His Highness Amrit Rao on the Sone; he had been informed by Major General Wood of the appearance of the detachment of 200 of Amrit Rao's irregular horse at the posts of Sonepoor and Akbarpore.² On 8th November he informed Major-General Watson Commanding Dinapore Division, that the Pindaris had crossed the Narbadda on 18th October and that a party under Dost Mohummad had crossed the same river near Chainpore Baree. On 22nd November he informed Adam that the advanced guard of the Pindaris had arrived at Jubbulpore, and the inhabitants of Sohagpore and Chutteesghur were running away; he requested him to furnish him with authority to act as the Governor-General's Agent in directing the movements of and drawing information from the Zamindars on the frontier and take all necessary measures. He approved of Higgott's action in repairing the fort of Futaree, and the establishment of a Dak between his camp and that of Captain Patrickson, Commanding a detachment in Bagelkhand, and one between Oontari and Husseinabad (30th November). A month later he reported that "all expectation of the Pindaris" seemed to be at an end (31st December).

On 1st February, 1813 he wrote to Adam stating that the previous facility with which the Pindaris might penetrate into British territories under the pretence of being subjects of the Maratha States and bound on pilgrimage to Gya or Benares induced him to recommend that information of any large body of pilgrims should be given previously, whenever practicable, to the officer commanding on the frontier by the residents at the courts of Poona, Nagpore and of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

Roughsedge apprehended Buctour Sahy, Mokondit Singh and other insurgent sardars with the help of Raja Ranjit Singh of Jushpore. Finding that the Raja of Rewa had proved hostile, he reinforced the detachment at Oontari from troops under his immediate command and from the cavalry of Major-General Wood's Division and he received from the Adjutant General an extract of despatch from the Commander-in-Chief to Col. Martindell confiding to him the direction of the force employed with a view to overawe the Raja (12th to 24th March, 1813). A parwannah was addressed by the Governor General to Raja Oodwant Singh of Singrowli desiring him to conform to what requisitions he might receive from Roughsedge in operations against the Raja of Rewa (17th April, 1813).

The Governor-General conferred khellaut (honorary dress) on Raja Joujhar Singh of Raigarh, commended the zeal and devotion of Raja Futtah Narayan Singh of Sherghatty, and out of consideration for the services of Raja Ranjit Singh of Jushpore (who suddenly died in April, 1813) commanded Raja Bulbhuder Sahi of Sirgooja to forbear from demanding more than the fixed malgoozary of the estate of Jushpore. Loll Sangram Singh raised a rebellion against his nephew, Raja Bulbhudder Sahi, the rightful chief of Sirgooja (September, 1813).

¹ Records preserved in the Record Room of the Collector of Cuttack.

² See footnote 1.

We again find Roughsedge making arrangements for the defence of the frontier against the incursions of the Pindaris during "the dry season"¹. (October, 1813).

In 1813 Roughsedge occupied Nowaghur (letter to Fagan, 18th November 1813) and in 1814 he apprehended Loll Sangram Singh and twenty of his adherents. He forwarded to W. W. Bird an extract of a treaty concluded at Sirgoojanugger between Lt.-Col. Jones on the part of the British Government and Herbajee Pundit on the part of Berar and ratified by the Governor-General and Raghuji Bhonsla relating to the prevention of Loll Sangram Singh and Pertumber Singh Subadar from entering into Sirgooja.

On 24th January, 1814 Roughsedge informed the Major General about the departure from the camp of Dost Muhammad, the Pindari Chief, of 8,000 horse, on 9th January, half of whom took the northerly and half the easterly direction. He commanded Ensign Ferguson of the Ramghur battalion to prevent the penetration of the Pindaris. In November, 1814 he delegated his authority to Higgott to take measures for the security of the frontier against predatory attacks, and to get control over zamindars and ghatwars of Ramghur and Jungle Mahals. There is a reference in a letter (dated the 5th November 1814) from T. Borroughs, Commanding Lohardagga to J. Wauchope, Superintendent, Political Affairs, Bundelkhand, to the sallying out of about 2,500 Pindaris under the command of Ramzan Khan, Wasil Khan, and Soobhan Kunwar from Doobonlee and Phootera. Certain villages in the Saugor country were plundered by them. The Adjutant General informed the Secretary that His Majesty's 14th regiment was being immediately prepared for service and moved by the route of Birbhoom and the new road to the position near Hussenabad for the purpose of protecting south Bihar and the provinces west of the Ganges.

Meanwhile Roughsedge with his Ramgarh battalion and brigade of guns and 3,000 camp followers was proceeding through Saran *via* Bettiah to effect junction with Major Bradshaw to take part in engagement with the Nepalese (November-December 1814).

Captain Higgott, Commanding Hazaribagh, requested the Secretary to Government to issue a perwannah to zamindars asking them to be vigilant in guarding the passes and strongholds. Captain H. M. Ross, Commanding 1st Battalion 12th Regiment N. I., came up with eight companies to join Higgott (25th December 1814). The Secretary informed Captain Higgott that Appa Sahib, the nephew of the Raja of Berar, was coming to visit Benares. Higgott came to Deo, took muster of irregular horse and foot assembled by Raja Ghun Sham Singh of Sherghati, and marched towards Hussenabad (19th February 1815). He advanced Rs. 5,000 to the Raja who was in pecuniary difficulties, for payment to his force.

There was a serious disturbance in Sirgooja; the disaffected jagirdars of Puhar Burrila (Paharbula) and Ramcola became so violent that the Raja (Balbhudder Sahy) fled with family for safety. Subadar Hossein Khan defended the Rani at Pertabpur and for his gallant conduct the Governor-General conveyed his approbation. The wife of Loll Sangram Singh, who was detained at Benares, appeared in the northern border of Sirgooja and incited the jagirdars. Sangram Singh was removed from

¹. It was the custom of the Pindaris to get ready, during the Dasserah season, September-October, when the rivers became fordable, for incursion into the British territory following perhaps the tradition of the Kings of ancient India to start on the conquering expeditions (dig-vijayon) during the season.

Benares to the fort of Chunar (Secretary to Government to W. A. Brooke, Agent of the Governor-General at Benares, dated 10th August 1815). The Governor-General wrote a letter to Raja Ghansham Singh asking for a supply of horse and foot to be placed at the service of Major Roughsedge who was directed to restore tranquillity, and re-establish the just authority of the Raja in Sirgooja (14th November 1815). For settling the affairs of Sirgooja it was considered desirable to obtain the co-operation of the Raja of Berar, who appointed Bulwant Rao Narrain and Dewajee Dongurdeo to act in concert with the Major (Jenkins to Roughsedge, 28th December 1815). The rebellious jagirdars were duly punished. Raja Bulbhudder Sahy and his son died, and the direct line of the zamindars of Sirgooja became extinct¹. A treaty was concluded at Sirgoojanugger in June 1816 between Bheekajee Gopaul, amil of Chutergurh and Major Roughsedge, relating to the succession in Sirgooja. Captain Sinnock was appointed Superintendent of Affairs of Sirgooja (July, 1817).

A band of Pindaris appeared with 300 guns at Karee Jalow, 25 miles west of the town of Rewa (letter dated the 30th March, 1815). The Adjutant General wrote to Wauchope, Superintendent Political Affairs Bundelkhand and Colonel Routledge Commanding in Bundelkhand regarding the incursion of Pindaris under Ahmad Khan. Higgott was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to proceed to Berhampore to assume command of the corps quartered at that station. Some Pindaris had taken up a position in Ampapanee (letter dated the 27th June, 1815). The Resident at Nagpore informed the Secretary to Government that three bodies of Pindaris of considerable strength had passed down the Nerbadda by the Eastern Road to the vicinity of Ramtak, 25 miles, north east of Nagpur (17th-21st November, 1815)².

Raghuji Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur, died on 22nd March, 1816 and was succeeded by his son Bulla Sahib, now Raja Parsoji Bhonsla.³ Owing to the physical and mental imbecility of Parsoji, a regency was formed under Madhoji (Mudhoji) Bhonsla, better known as Appa Sahib (son of Venkaji Munia Bapu), the Raja's cousin, who showed himself friendly to British interests. Not feeling secure against the party of Buka Bai (Raghuji's widow, who had a strong claim to the Regency) and Dharamaji, a trusted official of the State, he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government, and a treaty was accordingly concluded on 27th May, 1816. The treaty of Nagpur was of great political moment and "struck a serious blow at the power of the Maratha Confederacy", as Malcolm has observed.⁴ Parsoji was found murdered in his bed room on 1st February, 1817, and Appa Sahib succeeded him⁵. He soon made common cause with the Peshwa Baji Rao, and made war on the British, but was defeated, and was constrained to sign a treaty ceding certain territories (*viz.*, parts of the country on either side of the river Narbada, Berar, Gawilgarh, Sirguja, Mandala, Sohagpur) and engaging that the administration of the country was to be conducted according to the advice of the Resident. He, however,

¹. Secretary to Government to Roughsedge, 25th May, 1816.

². The Pindaris returned with rich booty from the Deccan. They made a second expedition into the Deccan in February, 1816. They passed through Hyderabad and Masulipatam to Guntur and committed depredations with the most outrageous violence. When the season of 1816-17 opened they made further inroads. Military measures were taken against the Pindaris in the winter of 1816 and the spring of 1817. In September 1817 the grand operation was undertaken to exterminate them root and branch.

³. Jenkins to Roughsedge, 23rd March, 1816.

⁴. *Political History*, Vol. I., p. 465.

⁵. Jenkins got evidence later on that Appa Sahib caused Parsoji to be secretly assassinated.

continued his intrigues with Baji Rao whom he planned to join at Chanda, but was arrested by the Resident and was being conducted to the Fort of Allahabad under the escort of Captain Brown when he escaped (13th May, 1818), fled in disguise. With the help of the Gond Chiefs he organised forces to fight with the British with a view to regain Nagpur. His attempt having failed, he fled to Asirgarh and thence to Hindustan ¹ (February 1818).

The effect of the hostility of Appa Sahib was felt in Behar. Roughsedge reported to Jenkins that Dheen Singh, Commandant in Chutteesgur, allowed a part of the force of the Berar Raja under his command to participate in the outrage committed on British territory, at Rydee in Chotanagpur (August 25, 1817). On the 18th June Roughsedge took possession of the fort of Sambalpure and the district, which with Sirgooja and their dependencies came to be ceded by the Raja of Berar to the British Government.² Jenkins informed Roughsedge on July 28 that Captain Sparkes with a detachment of 100 men had lately been destroyed near Beitoole by a body of Arabs and other troops proceeding to join Appa Sahib in the Mahadeo hills. In a letter dated the 25th September there is a reference to Appa Sahib's passing with a large force through Sohagpore. On 3rd October, 1818 Sincock informed Roughsedge that Appa Sahib was in the Mahadeo hills at the head of an army estimated at 80,000 men with which he was prepared to move upon either Nagpore or Chutteesgurh and that he was being secretly assisted by Sindhia and Holkar. On 19th January, 1819 Jenkins informed Roughsedge that a defeat was inflicted upon 500 Gonds and Pindaris under their chief Gutty Singh, Ram Singh and Pertab Singh by the 1st Battalion 2nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry under Major Duncan.

Precautions were also taken in Orissa. In a letter dated 3rd January, 1818 the Secretary to Government pointed out to the Commissioner of Cuttack the desirability of taking precautionary measures against the troops and officers of the Raja of Berar, who it was reported, were making an attempt to invade the district of Cuttack.³ On 4th February Major General Martindell wrote to Melville, Magistrate of Cuttack, informing him that he had received the intelligence that a large body of horse had attempted to pass eastwards and had plundered a party near Ryeghur but they had been opposed and dispersed by the Raja of Voodah (*Sic. Bod*).*

¹. He then returned to Jodhpur, where he died in 1840.

². Roughsedge to Wauchope, Superintendent Political Affairs, Bundelkhand and R. Ker, Commissioner Cuttack, 18th June, 1818.

³. Records in the record room of the Commissioner of Cuttack.

* The foregoing account is based on the unpublished records preserved in the record rooms of the Commissioner of Chotanagpore at Ranchi, and of the Commissioner of Orissa and Collector of Cuttack at Cuttack.

The court-poets of Bijapur and their Philosophy.

[By Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A.].

Like his ancestors Sultan Ibrāhim Adil Shāh II (1580-1626) of Bijapur was many-sided and talented, and his court became an asylum for two to three thousand men of learning and culture, each of whom, it is said was distinguished and without any equal in his own sphere or province. The Sultan lived in a joyous atmosphere of scholarly intercourse, seasoned with delightful talk and wit, and to him the world owes an amazing debt in scholarship.

Among the Scholars of the royal-court, the name of Shah Khalilullāh Butshikan, by descent a Saiyed of Herat, had made a noise in the world. His *nastaliq* writing excelled similar scribbling of all the earlier and later amanuensis and penmen. In the prime of life he was a stipendiary of Shāh Abbās of Irān and he served the latter as his preceptor and guide. At the time when the Shāh left Khorāsān for Irān, Khalilullāh, set out to India and was tied to the apron-string of the Sultan of Bijapur and became his alter-ego. It was on account of the harmony and amity that existed between the sovereigns of the Deccan and Irān that, Shāh Abbās sent for Khalilullāh and the latter was sent off by the Indian potentate to the court of Irān as his plenipotentiary of chamberlain. Having received proper regard and esteem in the foreign court, he was sent back to India with due honour and it was at the court of Bijapur that he passed the rest of his life full of glory and distinction.

In rhetoric and *usus-loquendi* Malik Qumi had gained celebrity at Bijapur. He had dispelled the mysteries of the spiritual world by his flights of imagination. He was one of those who was continually at prayers in the temple of God and was heavenly-minded and faithful; who possessed no eyes yet had in sight the two worlds (external and internal), had no hands yet held the reins of the two Universe (this world and the next). Malik Qumi, who surpassed his compeers in merit and magniloquence and in spite of having a material body hovered over the spiritual atmosphere on the wings of the angels and whose natural and easy flow of words conveyed external and internal significance took up his quarters at Ahmadnagar during the regime of the Nizām Shāhi Dynasty. The miscreants and villains of the city bore a heavy hand on Malik Qumi, and the latter called down curses on their head!

Oh Prophet ! Thou art the chastiser of the unrighteous,

The besom for brushing up the malefactors ;

Oh Thou, an Arab by descent and one for whom thousands have sacrificed
their life,

Place the impostors and the tricksters on the ass and sweep them off !

The curse of the oppressed soon attains its goal, so that, the city of Ahmadnagar and its people went to rack and ruin in no time. There are similar instances in which the malison of the pious and the religious effected the ruination of the important cities and their people. Ispāhān went down being cursed by Ismā'el. Khārizm fell into decay at the malediction of Sheikh Najmuddin Kabrā. Nishāpur broke

down as a result of the anathema from Sheikh Attār. In fact, one pious and obedient soul secures the affection of the Almighty more than all the people of the country taken together.

Here are a few verses of Malik Qumi that have gained universal popularity for the deep philosophy that they contain :—

Oh God ! I lose my faith in Thee when I see Thy favour,
My prayers become futile when I am urged by any desire.

While travelling, I set to taking out the thorn from my feet, when to and behold, the caravan disappeared ;

I was inadvertent for a moment, the hand of the clock was set back for hundred years.

Pour the wine of safety on the cup with care,

For, the stone of dissension lies in every receiver !

Oh God ! prolong the period of Thy separation,

That I might suffer anguish for the bereavement ?

The heroic dwellers of Hades though tortured by the Hell-fire,

Suffer thirst, yet look not at the fountain of Erebus !

The world is not a fit place for the darwesh to roam about,

The bustle and commotion of the earth are all fleeting !

If He (God) is unkind, complain not Oh, Qumi !

He is not to be blamed, it is that thy sufferance is not to the mark !

The saint-like and devout Maulānā Zahuri Turbati was noted for his affability and pacific disposition. All the wise and learned people entertained a liking for his verse and were especially attached to his *Saqi Namah*. We give below a few specimen of his poems that make no secret of his high mind.

Had I the frenzy that I could turn and twist mountains and plains,

Rationality and sobriety I disrelish !

Could that I impersonate Zulaikha,

Who renounced the two worlds for Yusuf !

The strollers envy those who are seated,

For, it is with the latter that lie the keys of the closed door.

Here are a few lines from Zahuri in praise of Malik Qumi :

Qumi is the lord of all the Intelligent and Learned

A drop of tear that he sheds (in breavement of God) matches the Red Sea !

In name Malik, he possesses rank and dignity in the domain of pencraft

A scratch from his pen makes the dishearted joyous.

Maulānā Zahuri was related to Malik Qumi, he being the son-in-law of the latter. Further, they were the joint writers of the two famous work *Gulistan-i-Khalil* and *Bag-i-Ibrahim*, both of which contain 9000 couplets besides the prose writings.

Story goes that, Sultan Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh II, once in a convivial gathering of the wise and prudent, while discussing on the anecdote relating to Mahmud of Ghazni and Firdusi and of the Sultan's parsimony, ordered for the payment of one gold coin for each distich to the joint writers of the two aforesaid compositions so that, the total payment amounted to nine thousand mohurs which were carried away by the two poets in loads over several camels. Some of the courtiers, however, lodged a complaint to the Sultan stating that, some five hundred couplets were purely repetitions, and as such, no credit should be awarded for those verses. The Sultan paid little attention to the objections of his courtiers and did not order for the repayment of 500 huns that had been paid for the 500 verses that had been repeated on the ground that, the money once paid was paid for ever.

Maulānā Haidar Zahni, another notable and far-famed writer in elegant and graceful style, lived in the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah. His fame rests on his classical and unlaboured style and his Ciceronian expressions. Haidar possessed wonderful talents in the art of poetry and his writings are noted for its sweet rhythms and graceful euphonics. During the Moghul invasion of Ahmadnagar he left the city for Bijapur and paid court to Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah ; but for the most part he danced attendance on Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan. His melodious doggerels and receptive dictums as well as his pointed ironies and poisoned shafts of wit were all worth in gold. Once, it so came about that, a certain royal courtier held a splendid soiree in which, besides all the nobility and litterateurs, the Sultan and the poet were both present. The poet regaled the guests with his repartees and excelled them in their witticisms and pleasantries. In fact, all the people assembled became gay as a lark and they set the table in a roar at this display of Attic wit. The Sultan, at last ordered for the payment of gold to the poet for his brilliance of wit in the manner of *Abjad* system of reckoning for all the set phrases or turns of expressions that the latter put to use. It is reported that, the Moulānā, in the first instance, received from the Sultan one thousand gold coins for composing a caricature of the sovereign. From others as well and in the same manner he received gifts in gold, so that, the total amount of presents that he obtained on the occasion figured four thousand huns or gold coins.

We now quote some of the enchanting and thrilling distiches of the poet which reveal the anguish of the ailing and afflicted soul striving after communion with the Lord.

Oh beloved ! (referring to God) dost thou wish me to roam as a vagrant (in search of thy love)

Or, thou desireth that I should detach my love from thee ;

.Dost thou desire that I should retain my letter of servitude to thee,

Or that I should tear it up in fragments !

Another important personality of the times was one Moulānā Baqr, alias Khurd, who was a native of Kashan. In his younger days he left Iraq for Hindustan and secured the affections of the Bijapur Sultan. In pen-pushing he had won distinction and he was in no way inferior to others who had excelled in that art. That the poet hailed from Kashan, is apparent from the following lines of the rhymes that he composed :—

The world and my material body are both made of poison

Every drop from the ocean of my heart's desire is a world by itself,

If Kāshān does not take pride of my existence,
 Let it go to ruin, for it is a city devoid of any truth !

The undermentioned poem of the bard took the fancy of the age :

The pious hide fire under their tattered garments,
 Gift of oration they possess, but not a work escape them.
 Think ye not they have a will of their own
 Dependent they are to the counsel of the wise !

Ready am I to sacrifice my life for Ind, for her saints are unceremonious,
 A slight gesture on they part brings them to thy side !

Here is an instance of his mellifluous style. In these lines the poet prefers malaise and distress to comfort and enjoyment and expresses his own philosophy.

Throw stones at him who has not drunk the wine, of misery,
 Let his vision be blurred if he hasn't tears in his eyes,
 Avaunt, ye luxurious ! leave my bier
 For, it is of one, who is afflicted and has no loveliness !
 I prefer sufferance to a bed of down
 And affliction to happiness !

Among the panegyrists and rhymsters of the court, there was one Hakim Ātasi, a Saiyad of Shirāz. The story runs that, one of his forefathers being at odds with his antagonist, entered a fire-place and issued safe out of the fiery furnace after a time. It was on this account that, the people took off their hats to the pious soul and called him by the name of Ātasi, and thus, his descendants became known a Saiyad Ātasi. In his salad days, Hakim Ātasi composed about one lakh and fifty thousand quatrains of every type, viz., *Qasidah*, *Mashnawi*, and *Rubaiye*. Though young, he was clear sighted and sagacious, talented and ingenious, and had acquired proficiency and skill in medicine and pharmacology.

Once, it so turned out that, Shāh Nawāz Khān, a leading noble of the royal court was seriously taken ill and his malady increased day by day. All the renowned physicians and specialists were tried and miserably found wanting. At last, for good and all, the Sultan deputed Hakim Ātasi, for treatment and the latter diagnosed the disease at once and in course of two and twenty days brought the patient to a state of convalescence. For the services thus rendered, the Hakim was rewarded with princely gifts by the Sultan and his ailing noble. He became the recipient of two elephants, a few Arab horses besides other valuables. Subsequently, on each festival day the Khān was invited by the Sultan to perform the usual religious rites and ceremonies at the court. In his work called *Ādil Nāmāh*, the Hakim gives an account of the campaigns that were undertaken by the Bijapur sovereign. We here quote some of his famous and popular lines. They dilate on the turpitude of the wide world and recommend the adoption of humility and unworldliness.

The Firmament is a furious tiger—a great dissembler,
 And the Earth is a dragon with no limbs ;

If you toss the head, the Tiger will tear you up,
 In case you are humble, the dragon will tuck you in ;
 If you are sensible do not set your heart upon
 Either of these base-born.
 Do not (in servility) bend yourself like a bow before any mortal,
 The arrow reaches its mark when the archer is upright and straight,
 The elasticity of the arrow is proportional to the vigour of the muscles.

Mirza Muhammad Muqim, a Saiyad and a native of Astrabād, gained notability in the court of the Bijapur Sultan as a versifier and calligraphist. While young, he left his native land and set out towards Mecca and Medina in company of his father. On the death of the father in the course of journey that the party had undertaken, the son instead of wheeling round to his native place set sail to India.

We now turn to some of his assonance ; the main theme of his song like that of the foregoing poet Hakim Ātasi, centres round the usefulness and utility of leading a devout life in a place of quiet and repose away from the din and bustle of the world—

Hermits pitch upon the company of the Anqa (i.e., the Phoenix)
 They prefer the quietness of retreat to the responsibility : of royalty.
 A tree does not always produce fruit because of its verdure
 The worldly wealth in the hands of a miser is unproductive :
 God bestows His Grace on those who are Godly,
 It is in the ashes that fire lies concealed ;
 The wine of the beggar causes the cotton to drop from the ears of the miser
 Vain talks play the deuce with the brain ;
 The mendicant is unfortunate in worldly possessions,
 The creature that possesses the jewel is all skin and bone ;
 By mere strength alone desire can never be fulfilled,
 The hand of greed is short and the tree of avarice bereft of any fruit ;
 A worthy son keeps up the refulgent Chandaliar
 It is with the combustible charcoal that all the credit lies,
 If you are wise, do not seek favour from mankind.
 For, it is the grip of the worthy that holds the prize !
 Do not raise your head if you wish a run of luck,
 For, the dignity of the lowly is too high !
 I have severed off my connections with the world,
 The stone is a pillow, and the meadow a bed to the pious :

The following *Qasidāh* of the poet is commemorative of the devout and spiritual Gesu Darāz or Pādshāh Zamān. The lines are extremely panegyrical and complimentary, and they bear out the deference and veneration which the people entertained for the soul of the pious saint.

Oh Ye ! the confines of whose musoleum is a fit place for the throne of God,

The brick-laid court-yard of whose sepulchre is like the seven heavens !
 The army of ángels flock around thy tomb on some expectation.
 They look like swarms of ants issuing out of their holes !
 Thy cenotaph is made of the mud with which the first man was created,
 For this, it has become the *Sijdgdh* of Gabriel.

(Based on Fuzuni Astarabadi's *Fatuhat-i-Adil Shahi* British Museum ms.)

Some unpublished English letters of historical importance.

[By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.]

In course of sorting the files of unpublished records, so long preserved in the office of the District Judge of Patna and now stored in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, I discovered a number of letters, containing some useful and important details with regard to the different aspects of the history of India during the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this paper I have studied only a few of these, relating to the political history of the period under review.

Wives and children of Wazir Ali.

At the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Lahore in December, 1937, I read a paper on the "Conspiracy of Wazir Ali" by utilising some unpublished records, discovered by me at Patna. I mentioned there how after the suppression of this abortive conspiracy, Wazir Ali was kept in confinement in Calcutta till his death in 1817 A.D. But what happened of his wives and children then remained unrevealed. A few months back I got seven letters¹ in some of the files, already referred to, from which it is known that they were kept in Bihar under the strict control and supervision of the Company. Illahee Khannum, a wife of Wazir Ali's, was sent from Lucknow with her son to Patna in March 1807 by J. Collins, Resident at Lucknow. Both mother and son were accommodated there at Government cost, an allowance of Rs. 70 per mensem, exclusive of the charge of house-rent, being granted to them for maintenance. As "the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khannum and her son at the public expense" was "the security of her son by Vizier Ali", so that he might not be exploited by disaffected persons to organise any anti-British conspiracy, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, on enquiring of Mr. H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, if he could "provide suitable accommodation" for them at Patna, informed him on the 14th June, 1806, that any arrangement which he might "propose for their accommodation" must necessarily "combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience". Mr. Douglas made necessary arrangements for the residence of Illahee Khannum and her son at Patna and informed the Governor-General of these on the 10th April, 1807. The Governor-General entirely approved of the steps taken by him. Another wife and a son of Wazir Ali were accommodated at Monghyr on a pension of Rs. 35 per mensem. Soon the Government decided to remove Illahee Khannum and her son also to Monghyr. Illahee Khannum objected to this arrangement. But the Government instructed the Magistrate of Patna "to adopt such measures" as he might deem "necessary to enforce her departure"² to Monghyr, as they considered it "absolutely necessary that her son by Vizier Ally should be removed to that station"³.

¹ Vide Appendix 'A' to this paper.

² Vide Appendix 'A', No. 6.

³ Vide *Ibid*, No. 7.

Zaman Shah.

One letter from Mr. G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, to Mr. H. Douglas, dated the 3rd June, 1799, shows that the Government asked the latter to "ascertain and report" whether there was "any vakeel, News-writer or other known Emissary of Zamaan Shah at Patna". Though Zaman Shah's project of invading Hindustan could not be carried into effect due to his troubles in Afghanistan, yet the dread of his invasion kept the British statesmen in India in constant alarm and anxiety. Zaman Shah's alliance was sought not only by Tipu Sultan of Mysore ¹, an inveterate foe of the English, but also by Wazir Ali ² and by Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad ³. In fact, some of the disaffected Muslim rulers in India then tried to organise a wide-spread conspiracy against the "supremacy of the English" with the aid of Zaman Shah. The English, therefore, were quite naturally vigilant enough to enquire about the presence of Zaman Shah's agents in Bihar or elsewhere within India.

The Dutch at Patna.

There are also some letters referring to the Dutch factory at Patna during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Dutch had established a factory at Patna even before Tavernier visited this city in 1666 A.D. Captain Alexander Hamilton wrote in 1727 A.D.:—"Patna is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the English and Dutch have factories for saltpetre and raw silk". The site of the Dutch factory is still known as the *Holloandez Posta*; but no trace of its buildings has survived. We know from copious references in the records of the English Company how the Dutch were their great commercial rival in the East during the first half of the eighteenth century⁴. The results of Plassey made the Dutch extremely jealous of English ascendancy in Bengal, but all their aspirations were dashed to the ground with their crushing defeat at Bedara on the 23rd November, 1759.

Again, in course of a few years after Bedara, the Anglo-Dutch relations in India turned to be hostile under the influence of extra-Indian politics. The adhesion of Holland to the league against England during the War of American Independence was followed by a declaration of war on the part of England and seizure of Dutch colonies. In pursuance of this policy, Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, drove the Dutch out of Madras and Pulicat, and in November 1781 captured the Dutch settlement of Negapatam⁵. The Dutch forts and factories in Bengal and Bihar were also seized by the English without much difficulty, as the English, apprehending a rupture with the Dutch for sometime, had not allowed them to maintain strong garrisons in their settlements⁶. But after the termination of the War of American Independence by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the Dutch got back most of their possessions in India⁷, and in the year 1788 the Dutch settlement of Baranagore was exchanged for the English territories contiguous to their factory at Hugli⁸.

¹ Indian Historical Quarterly, December 1934.

² Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Fourteenth Session, pp. 76—77.

³ Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1937.

⁴ K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, pp. 368—86.

⁵ E. H. Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 400.

⁶ *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng. Trans.), Vol. IV, pp. 118—19.

⁷ Consultations, 23rd November, 1784.

⁸ Consultations, 12th January, 1789.

The Dutch power was badly affected in Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. On the conquest of Holland by France in 1795, the Dutch possessions in India were placed under the protection of the English for their safety against the French¹, and the English issued the following proclamation²:—
 “Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty’s ancient allies, their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stadtholder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britan, we do by this Proclamation issued in virtue of his Majesty’s Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty’s possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty’s Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by his Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty’s Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty’s Royal Charter”.

The Marquis of Wellesley contemplated an expedition against the Dutch at Batavia, as the Dutch were then in alliance with the French, but it could not be sent out³. When Mr. Sohnlein, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna, died in May, 1803 his effects were sent by Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, according to the desire of the deceased, to his executors, Messrs. Bowman of Chinsurah and Ullman of Fulta⁴. During the Governor Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-13), the Dutch lost Cape of Good Hope, the Spice Islands and Amboyna⁵. But Java and the Dutch possessions within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government were restored to the Dutch by Lord Hastings⁶. The territories of the Dutch in *moujah* Ootler Nowapore in *paragana* Sonhit near Balasore, of which the Dutch agent at Balasore had been dispossessed, were also given back to them in 1820⁷.

¹. Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 14th August, 1795 (Patna District Judge Court, Unpublished Records).

². *Ibid.*

³. Journal of Indian History, 1932, p. 52.

⁴. Letter from Messrs. Playdell and D. V. Kerim to H. Douglas, dated 23rd May and 24th June, 1803 (Patna District Judge Court, Unpublished Records).

⁵. Thornton, The History of the British Empire in India, Vol. IV, pp. 181—95 and pp. 200—201.

⁶. Consultations, 26th October and 17th December, 1816.

⁷. Letter from D. A. Overbeck, Resident at Chinsurah, to W. L. Melville, Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, dated Chinsurah the 2nd February, 1820. (Cuttack Unpublished Records).

The Danes at Patna.

We can have some idea about the condition of the Danish factory at Patna from a few letters. An article, entitled 'Danes in India', was published in the Journal of the Indian History, 1934. But the history of the Danes in this country has not yet been adequately dealt with anywhere. So far as Patna is concerned, the Danes started a factory here in 1775 A.D., with George Hendrich Berner as its chief till his death in 1790 A.D. The Patna collections contain two letters written by Berner to the local Magistrate on the 29th May and the 3rd June, 1790. The Danes at Patna frequently complained to the local Magistrate about the troubles caused to them by 'Ghat Manjees' (*majhis* at the ferry ghats at Patna), and some English sergeants. They too sometimes adopted retaliatory measures, for which however they were summoned for trial in the Magistrate's court. But in 1795-96 A.D., Mr. F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, considered that he had received a "degrading usage" by being summoned to the *adalat* at Patna by Mr. Douglas "on the complaint of a native". So, according to the instruction of the Danish Government at Tranqueber, Mr. A. Bie, chief of the Danish Factory at Fredericknagore (Serampore), represented to the English Government in Calcutta on the 12th August, 1796, that in his opinion it appeared "too humiliating that a person in public capacity shall be subject to be summoned to appear in the Adaulat at Patna on any complaint of the Natives, and in case of non-obedience to the summons, to be arrested and committed to jail; which are the very words of Mr. Douglas to Mr. Schielke" ¹. But the Governor-General did not think it "proper to grant any exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Court in favour of Mr. Schielke or others", and ordered Mr. Douglas "to enforce obedience to the process", which he might have "occasion to issue against him, in the same manner" as he was "authorised by the Regulations to enforce obedience to the process of the Court in the cases of other Individuals" ². When in 1801 Denmark entered into hostilities with Great Britain, Tranqueber, Serampore, and the factory and property of the Danes at Patna, were seized by the English. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, was strongly determined to occupy the Danish settlements in India and was highly pleased on getting an opportunity for it. He wrote to Dundas, President of the Board of Control:—"You already know how injurious Tranquebar has proved to our interests during the whole of the present war. I assure you that the Danish settlement of Serampore is in some respects a still greater evil. Its vicinity to the seat of Government in Bengal renders it peculiarly obnoxious; adventurers of every nation, Jacobins of every description, swarm at Serampore, and it is the asylum of all our public defaulters and debtors" ³. But the possessions of the Danes in India were given back to them after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed in March, 1802. Their factory at Patna was restored to Captain Vonder Osten, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, in October 1802 ⁴. But when Napoleon issued the famous Berlin Decrees towards the close of October, 1806, England, with a view to check the growing French aggression in the Baltic, destroyed or appropriated the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. These European events had repercussions on Indian politics, as had already been the case on many occasions during the eighteenth century:

¹ *Vide* Appendix 'D', No. 6.,

² *Vide Ibid.*, No. 7.

³ Martin, *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. II, p. 204.

⁴ *Vide* Appendix 'D', No. 13.

The Governor-General in Council in Calcutta immediately resolved that "possession be taken in His Majesty's name of all Forts, Factories and possessions and of all ships and property belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company in the East Indies"¹. Accordingly, Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, wrote to Mr. H. Douglas on the 27th January, 1808, to capture all Factories, buildings, property, records, etc., of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company, found within his jurisdiction, and to consider all "Civil, Military and Marine officers and all Europeans in the service of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company" as "Prisoners of War"². Gradually the Danes lost all their possessions in India by the year 1845 A.D.

Jaswant Rao Holkar.

There is one letter referring to the enlistment of 150 soldiers by Jaswant Rao Holkar in the district of Jaunpur. The Governor-General in Council thereupon considered it to be of the "utmost importance that the Enemy should not possess the means of recruiting his Forces from the possessions of the British Government", and Mr. J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government, wrote to Mr. Douglas on the 10th August, 1805, that he should "employ every practicable effort to prevent this practice within the district" under his charge³.

¹ *Vide ibid*, No. 15.

² *Ibid*.

³ *Vide* Appendix 'E'.

APPENDIX.

(A).

1. "I am directed to desire that you will report to me, for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, whether you can provide suitable accommodation at Patna for Illahee Khannum, a wife of Vizier Alli with one son; and on what terms.

As the principal object of Government in providing a residence for Illahee Khannum and her son at the public expense is the security of her son by Vizier Alli, I am inclined to inform you that any arrangement which you may propose for their accommodation must necessarily combine the advantages of security with those of comfort and convenience.

It would be necessary to exercise every degree of vigilance for the safe custody of Vizier Alli's son, and to station a guard at the residence of Illahee Khannum to admit of as many sentries as might be requisite to prevent unobserved ingress or egress with a view to prevent the possibility of conveying away the Boy from his mother's residence.

To assist your judgment in regulating the expense of providing accommodation for Illahee Khannum and her son, I am directed to observe to you, that another wife and son of Vizier Alli are accommodated at Monghyr for the sum of 35 rupees per mensem".

(Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated 15th June, 1806.)

2. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th ultimo, reporting the arrival at Patna of Illahee Khannum and her son, and the arrangements which you have made for their accommodation, and for the security of the person of Illahee Khannum's son.

The Honorable the Governor-General in Council entirely approves your proceedings on this occasion.

With reference to the 3rd paragraph of your letter, I am directed to inform you that the allowance of 70 Rupees per mensem, which has been assigned to the support of Illahee Khannum and her son, should be exclusive of all charge of house rent, and that it should be paid in the same manner as all other pensions are paid." (Letter from J. Moncton, Persian Secretary to Government, dated Fort William, 15th May, 1807.)

3. "I have the honour to apprise you that I have this day dispatched by water Illahee Khannum and her son, under the charge of two of my chuprassies accompanied by the persons mentioned in the enclosed list.

The pension which Government has been pleased to settle upon Illahee Khannum is Eighty Rupees per month, commencing from the 16th of November last. I offered to discharge her arrears from that date to the 1st instant, but she signified to me her wish of drawing for the same upon her arrival at Patna.

I, therefore, request that whenever Illahee Khannum applies to you, for the payment of her stipend, you will have the goodness to pay the same at the rate of

80 Rupees per month, reckoning the commencement thereof from the 16th of November". (Letter from J. Collins, Resident at Lucknow, to H. Douglas, dated Lucknow, the 7th March, 1807.)

4. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and to inform you, that the necessary order has been issued to the Collector of Bihar authorising the payment of Illahee Khannum's pension of 70 Rupees per mensem, from the date of her arrival at Patna, together with any arrear which may have been due to her at the period of her arrival there". (Letter from J. Moncton to H. Douglas, dated 19th May, 1807).

5. "The Fort adjutant at Monghyr having reported that the accommodations provided for the son of Vizier Allie and his mother who are at present under your charge are nearly ready for their reception I am directed to desire that you will take measures for sending under a proper guard those persons as soon as may be convenient to Monghyr, that you will be pleased at the same time to furnish Lieutenant Nugent with such information regarding the family transferred to his care as may be requisite for his guidance and to apprize him of the amount of the stipend allowed by Government and the period to which the family have been paid by you". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated 28th March, 1807).

6. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant stating the aversion of the wife of Vizier Ally to proceed to Mongheer and desiring to know how you are to act in the event of her continued refusal to leave the city of Patna.

I am directed to inform you that no such condition as that which she states to have been made with Colonel Collins is known to Government nor ever was or would have been agreed to. As Government considers it to be necessary that she and her son should reside at Mongheer, you will be pleased to inform her, that her proceeding thither cannot be dispensed with, and if she should persist in her refusal, you are authorised and required to adopt such measures, as you may deem necessary to enforce her departure. You will of course however use such means of compulsion as are most consistent with mildness and delicacy. You are authorised to make such disbursements as may be required for the hire of boats and other necessary expenses of the journey, and you will submit to the Civil Auditor's office a contingent bill for the amount which you may expend.

You will make such communication to Lieutenant Nugent respecting the family as may be required by the circumstances attending their departure from Patna". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated the 16th May, 1808).

7. "On the 18th July last, I signified to you by order of Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that His Lordship in Council did not think it requisite to insist on Illahee Khannum herself proceeding to Monghyr, but that it was absolutely necessary that her son by Vizier Ally should be removed to that station. It appearing from a letter from the Fort Adjutant at Monghyr, that the son of Illahee Khannum has not yet arrived there, I am directed to desire that you will report the reason of the delay which has taken place, in carrying the orders of Government of the 18th July into execution". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, 27th May, 1809.)

(B)

"I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council to desire that you will ascertain and report whether there is any Vakeel, News-writer or other known Emissary of Zemaun Shah at Patna". (Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 3rd June 1799, to H. Douglas.)

(C)

1. "The state of affairs in Holland having induced the Prince Stadholder, who has retired to England to give orders for the admission of British Troops into the several Dutch Settlements in India, for their protection, against the French, the Governor General in Council is pleased to desire that you will communicate them to the Chief of the Dutch Factory at Patna with a requisition to him to deliver up that settlement, on the Terms and conditions specified in the enclosed Proclamation to be held in the name of His Britannic Majesty, under the condition of its being restored at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which the Independence and constitution of the Republic, as guaranteed in 1788, shall be maintained and secured.

In the event of this requisition being complied with, you will take possession of the Factory in the name of His Majesty, hoist the British flag there, and cause the Proclamation to be publicly read.

In the event of a refusal on the part of the Dutch Chief to comply with your requisition for delivering up the Factory to our temporary possession, you are to forward the enclosed letter to the Commanding Officer at Dinapore, who is directed therein to detach a Military Force to take possession of it, and to deliver up the keys to you.

This having been done, you will take an Inventory of the Public Property and effects at Patna, and instead of the proclamation above-mentioned, you will issue one, on your own part omitting such of the clauses as have relation of the continuance of the Dutch administration, and stating the following.

That the Law and Customs shall not be infringed.

That no fresh taxes or Duties will be imposed.

That Permission will be granted to the subjects of the United States to trade to and from the English Company's Settlements with the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and every endeavour will be used to promote, in their behalf, the extension of these advantages in the most liberal manner.

You will be particularly observant that the Inhabitants are treated with attention and kindness and you will assure them that they may depend upon both.

One copy of the Inventory is to be attested by the Dutch Chief and transmitted to me. The other copy is to be attested by you and delivered to him. The Public Property and Effects are to remain in your custody, subject to our future orders, and you will advise us of any and what, articles appear to you to be in a perishable state, or might suffer by being kept.

Your future correspondence on the subject of the Dutch Factory at Patna is to be carried on with Mr. Birch, the Commissioner for Chinsurah and its Dependencies, and you will attend to any communications you may receive from him upon it". (Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, dated 14th August, 1795, to H. Douglas.)

English Version of the Proclamation.

"Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightiness the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government whereby the Stadholder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain, We do by this Proclamation issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession; in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by his Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter".

(D)

1. "I have the honour to request you to send a Chaparassie of the Patna Court to take in custody Jeto Ghauth Manjee and other persons, now at this Factory. I shall prosecuth them in the Patna Court, on account of making constantly Disturbance at the Factory's Ghauth. Jeto came last night at the Factory's Ghauth, and did also into six Difference Boats, and as the Manghe did not like to go, he being Ghauth manje of the Killa here at Patna at present, did come this morning with six Sepoys with Bayonets, to take the Boats by force, and as He could not get them all, He toke (took) one of the Boats along with them, the Sergeant of the Patna Killa came to me after it had happened to justify the conduct of Jeto, or as I did tell him, that it had never been customary to send sepoy's armes here to the Factory, he told me that he came *by his order*, and that he hade lend them. I therefore request to leth me know if the sergeant can be prosecuted in the Patna Court, or if I may prosecuth him at Dinapore, I have told the Sergeant that I shall refeare the matter to the Magistrate at Patna, here it will be setlet after Justice, that I would not by any meance take my serjants post, or if he are in fault, he shall be punist according to the Laws of the country, I request that the Manghe on boats may be Released, which he took away to the Killa, his name is Ballsser Manghe. You will recollect that it has so often happened that Jeto has made disturbance here, or it often happened that Sepoys are lend here in this manner with Bayonets". (Letter from G. A. Schilke, Resident of the Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated 26th November, 1795.)

2. " Captain Morrissen the Brigeath Major from Dinapore has been in Patna and setlet the matter between the Sergeant, Jeto Manghee and me: I therefore bege you will have the goodness and realese Jeto if agreable to you ". (Letter from same to same, dated 30th November, 1795.)

3. " I have been honoured with your letter of the 5th instant, and after due consideration on the nature of your request, beg leave to acquaint you that consistent with the station I now hold, and my Allegiance to His Danish Majesty whose servant I am—I cannot give up Moneddeen the Ghaut Manjee, or Horis Chaparasie—they being in the service of his Danish Majesty—without incurring Censure from My superiors. Upon strict enquiry I find that not any Boats have been taken away by force, by any of the Servants belonging to this Factory after the return of the Vakeel from your Court and acquainting me that it was not your Pleasure to let the Boats remain in the Ghaut Manghe's possession, I immediately ordered that he should not have anything to do with them. I have the honour to enclose a Deposition or Akranama (Ekrarnama) of seven of the manjees witnessed by People at Marowf Ghwnge, which I conceive will clear up all doubts in this Business. Two out of the Nine Boats are with Jeetoh—and as the other seven Boats the Manjes having hired themselves out and were gone to take in these Loading at Nowyadah made it Necessary for Me to send for them and prevented my being able to reply to your letter sooner—I am very sorry to observe from what the Vakeel acquaints me—that although the complaint Moneddeen made in your Court was dismissed, He was Fined the sum of Thirty Rupees, the reason why this fine was laid upon him, I should esteem myself greatly obliged by being made acquainted with—and hope after the matter I have herein stated the case, it will render it needless for either of us to address our superiors for instructions ". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of his Danish Majesty, to H. Douglas, dated Patna, the 12th January, 1796.)

4. " I have been Honoured with your letter of the 15th instant, and am sorry that my letter of the 12th has not been fully satisfactory to settel the Business in question respecting the Ghaut Mangee and I now beg leave to repeat that I cannot deviate from the Reasons I therein gave, for not delivering up his Danish Majesty's servants to your officer, I therefore am under the Necessity of referring the Business to be settled by my superiors—the Governor General and Council at Tranqueber ". (Letter from same to same.)

5. " I have received the Decree of the Cause which was setlet in the Adaulat. the 2 Inst. between a Sircare of Mr. Pottes and myself but there are no copy of the depositions of (Messers Dwevergne, Ferras or MacIvers). I have therefore the Honour to request you so send them per Bearer as they have been demanded by my superiors ". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 30th of May, 1796.)

6. " I am very sorry to be troublesome to you, on account of a complaint preferred by the Danish Resident at Patna Mr. Schielke to the Royal Government at Tranqueber, against the degrading usage he considers himself to have been treated with, by being sommoned by your Magistrate at Patna Mr. Douglas to appear at the Adaulat there, on the complaint of a native whom Mr. Schielke has given a slight concetion, after that he, in a most insolent and provoking manner with clenched fists hath behaved to him, and which is proved by two witnesses.

The Government at Tranqueber, has directed me to represent that matter to your Government in such a manner as I should deem it most suitable; and as it appears to me to be of such a nature, that it may be, by your interference, as a trifling political matter easily redressed. I beg leave to represent that it in my opinion appears too humiliating that a person in public capacity shall be subject to be summoned to appear in the Adaulat at Patna on any complaint of the Natives and in case of non-obedience to the summons, to be arrested and committed to Jail; which are the very words of Douglas to Mr. Scheilke. To the best of my memory, I believe that I for few years ago, have seen Regulations of your Government for the Adaulat at Patna, whereby not only the French Resident, but every Individual of that nation, are exempted from being summoned to appear in the Adaulat. Should my remembrance be right, I flatter me that you will not deem it extravagant, that I see that the same consideration, may be granted Mr. Schielke his Majesty's Resident at Patna.

In the several disputes he has had with your Magistrate at Patna it is far from, that I approve of his conduct in general, and very sensible of, that he has not the smallest claim to any kind of jurisdiction or to assume any Power of Government, and I am fully pleased that he for the future, never will attempt to interfere with the authority of your Magistrate there, as the Government of Tranqueber has on that respect, laid him under very serious injunction. Should any well-grounded complaints for the future be against Mr. Schielke, except for atrocious crimes, I request that your Magistrate may be directed to refer them to me when they shall be attended to and meet the most speedy redress and strictest justice". [Letter from A. Bie. chief of Fredericknagore (Serampore), dated 12th August, 1796, annexed to a letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, to H. Douglas, dated Council Chamber, Calcutta, 9th September, 1796.]

7. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, and inform you that the Governor General in Council considers the explanation of your conduct in regard to the complaint preferred by Mr. Schielke satisfactory.

(b) The Governor General in Council does not think proper to grant any exemption from the Jurisdiction of the Court in favour of Mr. Schielke or others, and you are accordingly desired to enforce obedience to the process which you may have occasion to issue against him in the same manner as you are authorised by the Regulations to enforce obedience to the process of the Court in the cases of other Individuals.

(c) Should Mr. Schielke offer open and violent resistance to your authority you are authorised to have recourse to the aid of a Military Force, but the Governor General in Council trusts that there can be no necessity for proceeding to such extremities.

(d) Information of these resolutions will be communicated to the Chief and Council of Fredericknagore that they may furnish Mr. Schielke with the necessary instructions, and apprise him of the consequences which will attend an opposition to the authority and process of the Courts of Justice". (Letter from H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, dated Council Chamber, 7th October, 1796 to H. Douglas.)

8. "Your favour of the 1st Instant with its Inclosures I have received. I have appointed Vakeels to answer, for me, in your Court, to any complaints that

may be made against me". (Letter from F. A. Schilkee to H. Douglas, dated 21st November, 1796).

9. "A few days ago I complained to you that two Boats I hired for a gentleman in his Majesty's 27th Light Dragoons were unjustly seized, and you ordered them to be given up. I sent one of these Boats for 300 Mds. of Gram a little distance down the River and when about one hundred Mds. of the Gram was loaded—Mr. Schielke the Danish Consuls Peons—seized her a second time—by which delay and expence has been incurred—indeed. The conduct of this gentleman's servants is very oppressive. This day—Mr. Schielke has again seized another Boat—he has beat a Mangie—or rather his people has beaten—the man has been plundered of his cloaths and his Boat is detained by force—in order to extort money from him. The conditions exercised by Peons under the Danish Consuls name, are intolerable and require your interference". (Letter from D. V. Kerim, Captain, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated Patna, 27th October, 1797.)

10. "Thro' my Vakeel, an Arzee was presented in your Court, in consequence of a Dingy which is my property having been stole by the people, and taken over on the other side of the River, where it is now laying and has been seen by my People—my Vakeel acquaints me, that you inform him the complaint must be referred to the Dewany Adawlat—and that some Person must swear to its having been stole—this is a point out of my power to ascertain as the Dingy was taken away in the Night—Mooty my Chaprassee now in Jail is the person that has seen it hawld ashore at Singuatpore, therefore as its clear Gopaul Dubeh or some of his People have taken away the Dingy I have only to request you will please to issue an order for its being returned to me having immediate occasion to send it to Malda to Major Hawkshan with a few maunds of potatoes". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated the 29th February, 1798.)

11. "Understanding that you have ordered yesterday one of the Choprasies belonging to his Danish Majesty's Factory at this place into custody, and since that two more were taken away this morning by the Thannah Peons, I am at a loss to know the reason of it. I should therefore esteem it as a favour to order them to be released. The names of the Choprasies are Horrie, Munnoo and Ramjanam". (Letter from Robert Gornis, Overseer, Danish Majesty's Factory, Patna, dated 9th September, 1806, to C. F. Sealy, Acting Magistrate of Patna.)

12. "Frederick Alexander Schilcke aforesaid make the oath, and saith that the person mentioned by the name of Crawford in the said Deposition of this Deponent, is in reality called Morland, that he, this Deponent is not acquainted with the said Morland's Christian name, but that he the said Morland is the brother of Augustine Brisco Morland, Lieutenant in His Majesty's Seventy Sixth Regiment at Dinapore. And he this Deponent further saith that he the said Morland did assault and put this Deponent in bodily fear at the time and in the manner described in this Deponent's Deposition aforesaid; and that he, this Deponent is afraid the said Morland, will beat, maim, wound or kill him this Deponent; and he this Deponent for that reason and not from malice, prays that surety of the peace may be granted to him against the said Morland who the Deponent understand is now at the House of

George Arbuthnot Esquire at Muzafferpore in the District of Tirhoot ". (Letter from F. A. Schielke, Resident of His Danish Majesty's Factory at Patna, to H. Douglas, dated 4th September, 1798.)

13. "I am directed by His Excellency, the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 30th ultimo and to communicate to you, the order of His Excellency in Council for the restoration of the Danish Factory and Public Property at Patna, to Captain Vonder Osten His Danish Majesty's Resident whenever he shall have satisfied you that he is duly authorised to receive the same, or to any person who shall be duly authorized for that purpose by Mr. Bie ". (Letter from J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, the 11th October, 1802.)

14. "On the 13th Instant the nazier of the office informed me that he had reason to suspect a boat under dispatch to Serampore belonging to Captain Vonder Osten the Danish Resident at Patna contained some illicit Trade on board I directed him in consequence to order the Jemmadar on the Tellasee boat to follow and made the customary search.

On the following day he informed me that the Jemmadar came up with the boat at Futwah a place distant about five miles from the Danish Factory that he found her laden with Sealed Boxes, Jars, a considerable quantity of onions and a certain number of bags supposed to contain grain four of which were also sealed—that the Jemmadar was opposed in attempting the usual search though he offered to make use of Ram rod of the musket of a Seapoy in charge of the boat in consequence of Captain Vonder Osten's people having objected to the introduction of the searching Rod on account of its size.

A Peon belonging to the Custom House can give evidence to this fact and I have requested that the Collector of Government Customs would be good as to allow him to be summoned for this purpose (his name is Rammoo—his station Futwah). He was present and joined with my people in trying to persuade the persons in charge of the boat to consent to this form but without effect as they persisted in saying "you may break the Seals of the Bags if you think proper we will not permit a search in any other terms".

At a loss how to act the Jemmadar detained the boat and sent off an express to inform me of the particulars. With a view to prevent any dispatches I immediately ordered the Nazier to proceed without delay to Futwah and to explain the necessity to Captain Vonder Osten's people of their permitting the Search and that it could do no manner of injury to the contents of the bags. What followed you will learn from copy of the Nazier's Petition to me which I have the pleasure to enclose and I beg leave to request you will take his Deposition on oath as well as that of the Jemmadar as to the facts asserted by them in their reports to me.

It is necessary to observe that on my receiving intelligence of Captain Vonder Osten's having ordered his boat to return to Patna I addressed the Custom master requesting he would appoint an officer to be present at the search and I have this day requested he would allow the person he deputed to attend that his Evidence may attest or disprove what my nazier has advanced respecting what took place on the return of the boat to Patna during the Examination.

The circumstance which gave rise to the suspicion of the boat containing illicit Trade is that a Seapoy by name Feckoo in the employment of the Danish Resident came to the Jemmadar's House a few days previous to the dispatch of the boat and in the presence of two witnesses by name Muckoo and Golaup informed him that about two maunds were ready, that a boat would shortly be dispatched and that he would go on board her and therefore advised him to be on a the look-out—you will oblige me by examining the Jemmadar and witnesses upon oath on this subject.

This Seapoy it appears was on board the boat when my people attempted to search it.

As I am prohibited by the Board of Trade from holding Public Correspondence with any of the gentleman appointed to Patna from the foreign Settlements I beg leave to request should you have no objection that you will inform Captain Von Der Osten the Danish Resident of my having addressed you on the above subject and that he will oblige me by coming forward with any complaint he may have to make against the public servants employed by me in the late affair as I shall be very happy to have them punished should they be proved on Investigation to have acted contrary to the Regulations laid down by Government for the conduct of the amlah attached to this office". (Letter from Playdell, Opium Agent, to H. Douglas, dated Patna the 17th June, 1803.)

15. "In consequence of intelligence which has been received of a Rupture between Great Britain and Denmark the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council has resolved that possession be taken in His Majesty's name of all forts, factories and possessions and of all ships and property belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company in the East Indies.

You will accordingly take possession in the name of His Majesty of all factories and buildings and of all property within the limits of your jurisdiction and also of all papers, accounts and Records belonging to His Danish Majesty or to the Danish East India Company.

All Civil, Military and Marine officers and all Europeans in the service of His Danish Majesty or of the Danish East India Company are to be considered as Prisoners of War—you will receive on Parol all such of their officers and Europeans as from their Rank and character may appear to you entitled to that indulgence; and you will send the remainder of the Prisoners to Fort William, furnishing them with the necessary conveyance and expenses for the journey.

You will without delay report the measures which you may take in consequence of these orders and transmit lists of the Persons who may be taken Prisoners, and statements specifying the particular and estimated value of the property of every description which you may take possession.

I am directed to add that all the property of which possession may be taken under these orders are to be held at the disposal of his Majesty who will hereafter determine on its appropriation.

You will apply to the Commanding officer of the nearest Military station for any aid which you may require to enable you to execute those orders.

You will be careful that in the execution of these orders, the utmost degree of humanity, liberality and attention be manifested towards the persons whom they may affect". (Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, to H. Douglas, dated Fort William, the 27th January, 1808.)

16. Received from Mr. Robert Gomis, Overseer of his Danish Majesty's factory at Patna, the following property belonging to His Danish Majesty, viz. :—

One large Almira with Sundry Papers.

One flag.

Thirty two muskets with thirty one bayonets.

Five Brass Badges.

One Brass Bell and a Copper Katowra.

(Dated, Patna the 3rd February, 1808).

(E)

Recruitment of troops by Jaswant Rao Holkar.

"By information received from the Right Hon'ble Lord Lake it appears that a party of one hundred and fifty Recruits recently enlisted for the service of Jusswant Rao Holkar in the District of Jaunpore in the Zamindary of Benares, had crossed the Ganges at Joassie Ghaut, three coss below Allahabad, and had proceeded to join that Chieftain.

As it is of the utmost importance that the Enemy should not possess the means of recruiting his Forces from the possessions of the British Government, the Vice President in Council desires that you will employ every practicable effort to prevent this practice within the district under your charge". (Letter from J. Lumsden, Chief Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 10th August, 1805 to H. Douglas.)

Historical contents of a newly-discovered Persian manuscript.

(By Mr. Syed Husan Askari, M.A., B.L.).

Since the discovery of *Dastur-ul-Insha* (1), the unique and rare Ms. of about 390 folios, containing letters written by, and addressed to, Raja Ramnarain, Deputy-governor of Bihar, 1752—1761, and throwing much new light on the contemporary affairs of Behar and Bengal, the writer of the following lines has felt greatly interested in such collections of letters. An attempt (2) was made to analyse the historical contents of two such works, namely, *Inshai-i-Gharib*, and *Insha-i-Ulfat*, by Lala Ujagar Chand Ulfat, a contemporary and associate of Raja Ramnarain, and his father, Ranglal. Another rare collection of letters named *Dashtur-ul-Imla* (3), compiled by the son of a dependent of the Raja and his brother, Raja Dhiraj Narain, furnished some valuable historical materials for two papers which have already been published (4). Since then the writter has come upon some more collections of a similar character which have hitherto remained untapped and unstudied. The following lines represent an attempt to study a Ms. (5) of mixed contents, including a few collections of letters which are of some historical importance.

The whole of the present work of 166 Folios (10"×6") is written in Nim Shikast character, on old Arwal paper, by apparently one and the same scribe, namely, Lala Sheodyal of village Bhawarah, Parganah Danwar, in the district of Shahabd (Bihar). It is slightly damaged and incomplete, both in the beginning and in the end. There are several impressions of seals, apparently of the owners, dating not earlier than 1207—1792. The mixed contents of the Ms. may be put in a nutshell as follows :—

- I. Romance ;
- II. A short historical treatise ;
- III. Epistolary compositions :—
 - (a) Balmakund Nama ;
 - (b) Ruqqat-i-Mutafarriqat :—
 - (i) Letters of Raja Ramnarain to Nawab Ahmad Khan Quraishi ;
 - (ii) Letters of Bhooray mal ;
 - (iii) Letters of Wazir mal ;
 - (iv) Letters of Jawahir mal.
 - (c) Letters of a miscellaneous character.

(1) Main source of the paper on Raja Ramnarain, Published in 3 issues of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, 1937-38.

(2) The paper published in 3 issues of the Hindustan Review, Patna, 1938.

(3) Described in December issue (1938) of the journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

(4) Proceedings of the 15th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Poona, December 1938.

(5) Belongs to, and kindly lent for use by, Babu Jadunath Pd., B.A., B.T., of Daudnagar (Gaya).

We may pass over the last section (62 Folios) covered by *Qissa-i-Raz-o Niyaz*, or the love-story of Kunwar Sen and Chandramati, written, as we get from the preface, by Gopichand Lekhori, poetically surnamed Dabir, who was an inhabitant of Sialkot, and served as a Munshi of Nawab Mohammad Yar Khan (6) of Delhi, on whom he bestows lavish praises. Nor need we consider the preceding pages, containing fragments of poems of Mirza Mazhar, Baidil, and Azam. An important division of the Ms., however, covering 16 Folios, and wrongly entitled in the colophon as *Ruqqar-i-Bahadur Shah* is really a narrative of the struggles for the throne among the sons of Aurangzeb, by an unnamed author [most probably, Niamet Khan Ali (7) or Danishmand Khan] who wields a powerful pen and makes some shrewd observations.

First we got a brief account of Aurangzeb's expedition against the Rajputs and the rebellion and flight of Prince Akbar, and then after incidental references to Aurangzeb's campaigns in the South, his conquest of Bijapur, Hyderabad and the Mahratta country, the author refers to the Emperor's anxiety to avert bloodshed among sons, and finally deals, at length, with the events leading to, and connected with, the battle of Jajau. The short treatise concludes with the appointments made by the new Emperor, Bahadur Shah, including those of Asad Khan and his son, the famous Zulfikar Khan.

The remaining portions of the mixed Ms. embrace four separate collections of letters which emanated from various quarters and whose contents are of varied character and importance.

A distinct, complete and valuable section of the Ms. (folios 31a to 58a contains the rather rare letters "written to rulers and officials, in the name, and on behalf of, Nawab Qutbul-Mulk, Yaminud-Dowla, Syed Abdullah Khan....." (the Elder of the famous King Makers), by his Munshi, named Mahta Balmakund, and compiled by the latter's pupil, Dayaram. The collection, which has been named by the compilers *Balmakund Nama*, is divided into 3 *Kisms*: *Kism I* contains letters written to the grandees who held rank of 7,000 and 6,000; letters in *Kism II* are addressed to nobles of the ranks of 6,000 and 5,000; and *Kism III* includes letters "written to the Foujdars, Kiladars and the Diwan". Altogether there are 32 letters and most of them begin with rather vaguely-worded expression with no names of the addressees. But a close and careful study of the contents leaves no doubt as to the identity of the persons addressed, or the importance of the subject dealt with therein. Space does not permit a detailed consideration of this unique collection which must be held over for a subsequent occasion. It would suffice to note down a few points here.

Of the 32 letters all, except 5 or 6 which come under *Kism III*, have been addressed to historical personages, such as Ajit Singh of Jodhpur (Letters No. 1, 5, 10, 29, 32), Surbaland Khan (7, 8, 16, 23), Mohammad Khan Bangash (6, 16, 18), Nizamul-Mulk (2, 20), Alam Ali Khan (24), Raja Sahu (13), Balaji Viswanath (14), Chabela Ram (3), Syed Shah Ali Khan Barha (8), (4, 9, 12, 21), Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal (6,

(6) A grandson of Asaf Khan; held the rank of 5,000 and 2,000 in 1,125-30; was a Kiladar and Karore of the metropolis (Kamvar's Kunjhwa Ms.). *Tazkira-i-Salat* Chaghtai.

(7) See Elliot, Vol. VIII and Rieu who speak of an abridged edition of the history of Bahadur Shah by the famous poet—satirist of this name.

(8) See Irvine Vol. 2, page 10, 11, 13, 16. The Sayed was actually left in charge of Allahabad when Girdhar Bahadur marched out in May, 1720.

11, 18), Haider Quli Khan (19). The letter No. 17 which speaks of the disorders created by Jai Singh in the Zamindari and Jagir lands, granted to Man Singh (9), a son of Kirat Singh, and a grand son of Satar Sal, and also refers to certain Rajput officials, appears to have been addressed to a noble man of Syed descent whose identity it is difficult to establish definitely. The letters which have not been arranged chronologically nor bear full dates, indicating details of months, year and days except in a few cases (letters Nos. 4, 7, 10, 11, 31-6, 8, 19) are all confined to the brief period of the practical dictatorship of the Syeds, *i.e.*, February 1719—September 1720.

Besides their corroborative value, these letters give us an insight into the working of Qutbul Mulk's mind, his charitable (10) and religious disposition, his solicitudes for the weak (11) and the oppressed, his attitude towards, and relations with, the contemporary nobles, his anxiety to exhaust all means of conciliation (12) and compromise before coercion and drastic action, his readiness to appreciate good work (13) and give free hand to such provincial governors of undoubted ability and fidelity as Murshid Quli Khan, in respect of internal (14) affairs and relations with the frontier zamindars and English traders in Bengal, and his policy of continuing the tradition of Aurangzeb's "Sleepless vigilance" over the affairs of tribal people of the North-West (15) and Afghanistan. On the whole, the collection, though small, is both interesting and useful, as it throws fresh light on the comparatively efficient administration of the Syed Brothers.

(9) Hadiquat-ul-Aqalin mentions this name among the grandsons of Chatar Sal Bundela, but the name of the father is differently given there.

(10) The letter No. 28 is addressed to a sufi and speaks of the despatch by the Wazir of Hundies of Rs. 350 for the Urs of the saint Mir Md. Afzal and for the distribution of food among the poor and the hungry. (55b).

(11) (a) The letter No. 29 contains exhortation to Maharaja Ajit Singh to realise the hardships of the Gujrajs and take note of the severities of the strong over the weak, and to send at once a God-fearing honest and investigating Naib who might devote himself whole heartedly to the care of God's creatures to the prosperity of the country and to the suppression of the vile and the wicked (55b-56a).

(b) Further, letter No. 31, addressed to Mir Md. Hayat, contains a strongly worded warning not to molest the thread-wearers and Nagar Bharhamans of Muhammadabad, Benares, and return at once the written releases and other documents which he had forced them to sign, and refrain from oppressing the inhabitants of the city who were all subjects of the Empire (56b-57a).

(12) To quote a typical instance, the letter No. 21, addressed to Syed Shah Ali Khan, takes him to task for gining too far, and for advancing further from Shahzadpur inspite of the orders to the contrary. "Why such swiftness of foot, and why such severities upon Raja Girdahr-Bahadur? If the affairs result in a conflict, you will find it difficult to get out unscathed from the searching enquiry. If the least harm is done to the Raja, you will be called to account for the same." (50a-50b).

(13) Letters to Murshid Quli Khan and Sarbaland Khan.

(14) (a) Letter No. 6 and 18 to Murshid Quli Khan contains:—"Do whatever you consider proper in the matter of the proposed expedition to Cooch Bihar and to Khurda in Orissa."..... "I believe, after duly weighing all the pros and cons, from the point of view of economy and political needs, you will put your plans into execution."

(b) "As regards the punishment of the zamindar of Bishnupur, the sole authority is vested in you. Whatever is proper and safe, may be done."

(c) "As regards the English orders have been issued in response to their requests. For the present, as you write, these people must not be allowed to suffer absolute disappointment lest trouble should arise. In view of the exigencies of the time, care should be taken to pacify them the Emperor also should be informed accordingly..... Rest assured the Sanad for the building of factories in the seaports of Hugli will not be granted." (36a-37b; 41b-43b).

(15) The pretty long letter (51a-52b), apparently addressed to Sarbuland Khan, describes the measures taken through Ahmad Quli Khan to guard the roads, and refers to the action of the Muhmand tribes and the appeasement of the refractory Mahmud. It contains instruction about the establishment of police posts in Jamrud, Ali Masjid, etc., and also about the need of balancing, if possible, the income and expenditure of the province.

Another interesting section, covering the first 30 folios of the mixed Ms : consists of 4 separate pieces, collectively called in the colophan, as *Ruqqat-i-Mutafarriqat* by the compiler, Lala Sheodyal of Bhawanrah. Of these the most important is the piece (13a-23a), containing, as it has been indicated by the heading in red ink and similar expressions on the margin and at the end, "the letters written by Raja Ramnarain, the Subah of Azimabad (Patna) to Nawab Ahmad (16) Khan (Quraishi) of Daudnagar (Gaya)." As expected, these letters and short notes, as many as 39 in number, deal with the affairs of Bihar, specially these concerning the Rajas and zamindars of Bhojpur and Sasaram (Shahabad) and the famous Kamgar (17) Khan Mai of Husua Nawadah (Gaya). As some of the letters referred to therein, are not generally met with elsewhere, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion about the year to which they belong. On a careful examination of the contents, however, and with the help of certain important events referred to, such as Malhar's surprise attack on Ahmed Shah, the accession of Alamgir II, the victory of Shaukat Jung (18) on the Dutch, Shujauddowla's advance (19) to Ghazipur and his threat to Bhojpur (Folios 21-21a), one may form a tentative opinion about the period covered by these letters. This collection also deserves more than a passing notice, though the contents are mainly of local interest, concerned as they are with the affairs of South Bihar in the fifties of the 18th century. We may only note here that they reveal the cordial relations that existed between Raja Ramnarain and the great grandson of the conqueror of Palamoon. It is quite evident from these letters that Nawab Ahmed Khan Quraishi had accepted a suboridnate position under Raja Ramnarain, and in addition to his own Jagirs in the Gaya district, he held charge of the Sarkar of Shahabad (fol. 21). The two often collaborated with each other in suppressing the refractory zamindars, both Hindu and Muslim, realising the dues of the government and establishing police posts to ensure peace and good order and guarding the interests of the travellers and the way farers. Among the persons, frequently referred to in these letters, mention may be made of Pahalwan Singh (20), Udwant Singh, Horil Singh, Gajraj Singh, Sambhal Singh, Chatdhari Singh, Siddhist (21) Narayan, Bishun Singh (22), Mansa Ram (23), Dhoosi Ram (24), and Murlidhar (25). Kanegar Khan figures very prominently in numerous letters and Bahadur Khan (26), Kale Khan

(16) A great-grandson of the Nawab Daud Khan Quraishi, the conqueror of Palamoon, see *Seyar-ul-Mutakherim*, p.

(17) I. H. Q., Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 774.

(18) This is a new information which requires corroboration.

(19) *Tuhfa-i-Taza* and *Balwant Nama* (O. P. L. Ms:) refer to the march of the Nawab-Wazir against Balwant Singh in 1169/1755. See also *Tarikh-i-Benares* by Moulvi Mazhar Hasan, Vol. I, pp. 191-201.

(20) Pahalwan Singh was the Rajah of Nokha and Chainpur; Gajrag Singh was the son of Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur and Chaterdhari Singh was the son of Horil Singh of Dumraon (all in the Shahabad District).

(21) A turbulent zamindar of Sasaram and the son of Dhir Singh; he befriended the English, submitted to Prince Furrakh Seyar, and was suppressed by Sarbuland Khan, Governor of Patna in 1717.

(22) Zamindar of Seres Kutumba (South Bihar).

(23) Father of Balwant Singh and the founder of the Benares Raj.

(24) A foudjar of Saran under Raja Ramnarain and an officer in the army of Miran; fought against Prince Ali Gohar (Shah Alam).

(25) The Brahmin spy and confidant of Raja Ramnarain who proved very helpful to the English.

(26) An Afghan adventurer of Ghazni who settled down in Jagdishpur (Arrah) and was a friend of a Bhojpuri zamindar. His descendants are still at Jagdishpur.

(27) A Rohilla Afghan of Shahjahanpur who also figured on the occasion of the Shalzada's invasion of Bihar.

(27), Fazl Ali Khan (28) and Balwant Singh of Benares also find place in more than one letters. Indeed this collection, too, needs a separate treatment.

As regards the remaining pieces, those of folios 1-13a, of 23a-35b, and of 23b-30b, they contain letters of a miscellaneous character, compiled by Munshi Puran Mal, Wazirmal, Jawahir Mal, and copied, as we get from folios 13a, by Bhooray Mal, of Daudnagar from the original in the possession of Lala Brijlal, resident of Ahmadganj (Gaya). The first 43 letters comprised Arzdasts, news letters, official letters, and letters of a private character, written by different persons, at different times, and they are earlier in point of time to the remaining 12. On the whole, the period covered by these short notes and letters extends from the thirties to the seventies of the 18th century, as is indicated, on the one hand, by the mention of events connected with the rebellious activities of Sunder Singh of Tikari against Alivardi, Naib Nazim of Bihar, 1733—1739, and on the other, by an account of the differences between Chait Singh of Benares and the English as also by references to the march of the Raja Saheb (Raja Sitab Rai) towards Murshidabad, at the instance of Nawab Muzaffar-Jung (Md. Raza Khan). Some of these letters, at least, in this collection, are well worth our attention chiefly because of the new light thrown by them on some political aspects of South Bihar, Shahabad, Gaya and Palamoon. This will be borne out by the following literal translation of one or two letters of this section, specially because the events mentioned therein find corroboration in another manuscript, discovered and studied (29) by the present writer.

“To the Nawab Saheb..... I believe you might have already learnt from the letter of Nawab Mahabat Jung of the circumstances concerning the rebellious activities and disorders created by the mischievous, erroneous, and ill-starred Sundar and Baiju ; of their fighting against Faizullah Khan, the Foujdar of districts of Magha who had 10,000 horse and foot under him and attained martyrdom ; of the cash and kind belonging to the deceased and his followers being transferred into the hands of these wicked people ; of the expulsion of the mean fellows from their estates and zamindaris through the well-directed measures of Nawab Mahabat Jung ; of those turbulent people seeking refuge in the regions of Benares with Mansa Ram, the zamindar of that place ; and of Nawab Mahabat Jung staying in the strongholds of those wanderers in the deserts of disappointments lest the wretched, hapless fellows might return to that side and cause disturbances and disorder again. At this moment, I, the poor man, after obtaining the necessary permission to leave the auspicious presence, reached Daudnagar. As my companions still felt the fatigue and had not shaken the effects of their exile from home, so I stopped further movements and stayed in this place in order to get some rest before proceeding towards the goal. We had scarcely had time to breathe when the same vile, imprudent fellows, hearing that Nawab Mahabat Jung had gone back to Azimabad (Patna) and thinking it to be a good opportunity, returned from the frontiers of Benares towards this region, and having enlisted the support of the Zamindars of Planoon (Palamoon) and Morba (?) suddenly appeared on the borders of the jagirs of the writer, at the head of 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot-soldiers and matchlockmen, with the evil designs of

(28) The eldest son of Sheikh Abdullah of Ghazipur; fought with Safdar Jung in the battle of Manupur against Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1748.

(29) *Vide* the literal translation of 3 and 4 letters of Lala Ujagarchand, ulfat, published in *Hindustan Review*, Nov. 1938.

plundering and devastating the villages of the jagirs. Accordingly, with a view to preserving my own reputation and subserving the interests of the King, I set out from Doudnagar with a body of 200 horse and 500 foot who from very long time, had been employed in the Parganah, and also detailed a strong detachment of troops (for reinforcement). But this force was still on the way when those unlucky, ill-omened people, being elated and emboldened by their previous strength and superiority, recklessly dashed along the road of death and without giving time, they suddenly encountered the army of the believers. From both sides the fire of conflict and slaughter was kindled and after the use of artillery and bows and arrows, the turn of the swords, daggers and knives came. By the grace of God and the good fortune of the King, after a good deal of fighting, the breeze of victory began to blow on the rose bud of the royal heart. Baiju and the zamindars of Planoon, with 12 other zamindars of little repute and 300 wicked followers were sent to the other world by the swords of the veterans. As for Sunder himself, he received some wounds on his shoulders and buttock, and accompanied by his younger nephew, managed with great difficulty to effect his escape. Others who had gathered like pleiades, finding themselves unable to stand front to front, became dispersed like a constellation of the Bear. Fifty men on our side were wounded and forty persons tested the cup of martyrdom largely because of the great interpidity they showed. I have sent the heads of the hellish chieftains to Nawab Mahabat Jung and the heads of numerous other people were formed into towers on the roads for public exposure. The achievement of this victory by me, the sincere one, was due to the grace of the Absolute, Universal Conqueror, and the good fortune of the Emperor, the chastiser of foes, and to the limitless favours of the Nawab, the protector of men. As I don't know of any other personage, excepting your gracious self, as my patron, I have ventured to relate this event. If everything is well and fortune favours me, I shall have the good fortune of benefitting myself from your service after performing the marriage feast of the 'Barkhurdar' of your slave, Shukrullah Khan" (30).

There remains now only one other unnamed epistolary composition, found in folios 77a-109b of the present Ms : which deserves a brief notice. This section contains not only the comparatively unimportant letters and short notes of the well-known epistle-writer, Izad Bux (31), Risa, and private letters of Wazir mal (32) and Bhooray mal, but also several dated Arz dashts and letters written by, and addressed to Rai Brindaban (33), in the 46th year of Aurangzeb's reign. But the letters which attract special attention in this section are the following :—(I) Two letters written by Nawab Alivardi, Mahabat Jung, one apparently to a courtier concerning his capture of the fort of Bhanwarah (34), described as an unprecedented feat, and the other to Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari, informing him of the repeated defeats inflicted

(30) This establishes the identity of the writer. We know that Shukrullah Khan was the son of Hamid Khan II, and a nephew of Nawab Ahmad Khan Quraishi of Daudnagar. (i) Dadstur-ul-Amal (Babu Chote Lal's collection ; 11. Article in Maarif, 1937 by Hafiz Abdur—Rauf of Aurangabad).

(31) A contemporary of Aurangzeb and a companion of Prince Azim-us-Shan in Bengal and Bihar.

(32) *Reyazul Afkar* (O. P. L. Ms :) considers him among the standard letter-writers and describes him as a nephew of Jawahir Mal of Daudnagar in the Gaya district.

(33) Son of Bhara Mal and a divan of Shah Alam I. He was dismissed by Aurangzeb during the siege of Bijapur in 1095 (Khafi Khan).

(34). *Reyaz-us-Salat* and *Muzaffarnama* refer to this event. Bhanwarah, in Sarkar Tirhut, and in Madhubani sub-division ; was the stronghold of the ancestors of the Maharaja of Dharbanga.

upon, and flight of, Bhaskar Marhatta, and exhorting the addressee to stand by, and remain subservient to, Nawab Zainuddin Khan, Haibat Jung, Deputy Governor of Bihar, 1741-1748 ; (II) The letter of Siraj-ud-dowla, informing Raja Ramnarain of the death of his grandfather, Alivardi, and assuring the addressee that he regarded him as his "dear, dignified one" and as "the strength of his arms" and telling him further about the despatch of Ghulam Rasul with 100 horse and 1,000 foot and 10 pieces of artillery to keep watch over Sakrigalli and Teliagarhi ; (III) A letter to a certain Nawab Saheb congratulating him on the grant of a Mansab of 6,000 Zat and 400 Asal and the title of Asadullah Khan with Mahi and Marateb to Nawab Shaukat Jung Bahadur ; (IV) A short note dated 29, year 4th (1752 ?) relating to the contemplated flight of Raja Balwant Singh of Benares to the frontier of Bihar and advising the addressee to prevent him from doing so, for the Nawab Vazir made no difference between the two subahs. (V) A letter to a nobleman of Syed descent, dated 1st Jamadi I, 23 year of accession, i.e., 1742-43, telling him and Alivardi Khan Bahadur, Mahabat Jung, in the name of the Emperor, to search out and send in chains to the court, certain officials of the Diwani who had fled with embezzled money from the imperial camp. (VI) Two letters of Raja Ramnarain, one written to Ghulam Ghaus Khan (son of Ahmad Khan Quraishi) and the other to Siraj-ud-Dowla, giving a fairly detailed account of a successful but bloody battle fought against Kamgar Khan and his Afghan allies in Jamadi II, year 7, i.e., 1755. This last letter is also found on folios 381a-382b of *Dastur-ul-Insha* under the heading "Copy of the Arzi sent to Nawab Mahabat Jung" (i.e., Alivardi). A literal translation of this letter will repay perusal :—

Praise be to God that according to the Koranic text: 'Help from God and victory is near at hand'. Victory does always fall to the lot of your slaves. The day I reached Dinapur, heavy rains came with storms and, therefore, I was compelled to stay there for 3 or 4 days. Kagar, the unfortunate one, made it an excuse for his stay at Karyak (35). and like a deceitful zamindar he outwardly opened the talks about the transactions of business. I, the child of your salve, became aware of his pretext and fraud and devoted myself, today, Saturday, the 4th Jamadi II, to the marshalling of my troops. Nawab Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Khaja Muhammadi, Md. Murad Khan, son of Bahram Khan, Saheb Zaman Khan, son of Sher Zaman Khan, Mir Furzand Ali of Jounpur, Bijay Singh, the superintendent of artillery, Mir Yar Muhammad, the superintendent of Treasury and Pancham Singh and other jamadars were placed in the vanguard. They were strengthened on the right flank by Babu Fateh Singh, nephew of Raja Sunder Singh Bahadur, with his followers, lala Jaswant Rai and Ghulam Ashrafi of Akbarabad, Shaikh Md. Shakur of Lucknow, Ghulam Jeelani Khan and Asadullah Khan, non of Shaikh Abdullah Khan. The left flank was reinforced by Mir Kazim Khan, Mamrez Khan, Asalat Khan, Hayat Khan, Ghazi Khan, Nuruddin and other Mewatis. The rear of the army was formed by Ali Naqi, son of Fayez Ali Khan, the Buxi, Shaikh Hamiduddin and others who all were eager for victory. The total strength of these veterans reached 10,000 horse and an equal number of foot soldiers and there were also 500 swivel guns and 40 field pieces. As these were directly under the charge of your slave, he has been able to furnish these figures. Besides the forces of your dependent, no account has been kept of the auxiliary forces. Raja Sunder Singh had a force of 2,000 horse, 5,000 foot, 10 to 12 cannon, and 100 swivel guns.

Four hours after dawn..... I mounted by my horse. (At first) I thought that as the distance was fairly long, if the accused Kamgar, being led by his desire for death, did not hasten to anticipate (our move), I might stop at Bhadayer (36), which is at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos only; and proceed on the morrow to teach him a lesson. As in arranging the troops in battle array and covering the distance two hours had already passed, I reached near Bhadayer when the sun was in the meridian. In the meanwhile *Harkaras* brought the news that Kamgar, was on the move, being led by adversity, and was accompanied by those who had strayed away from the right path, that is, a band of 5,000 to 6,000 Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Malihabad (Lucknow) and the *Jalan* (?) (*Dalwar* ?) and *Mayeen* (37), who had made him swollen-headed, and who had gathered round his feet, having become blind to the danger of the precipice. Although the names of these unclean people will only add to the length of this petition, yet with a view to representing the valiant efforts of the slaves of the Sarkar by way of contrast, the names of every one of the chieftains are being mentioned. *Shadi Khan*, the companion of the faithless and hellish *Mustafa Khan* (37), *Kale Khan* of Shahjahanpur, *Shakar Khan* of Nagore, *Janbaz Khan* *Mayee*, *Peer Zaman* and *Iradat Khan* *Jalan* and *Kale Khan*, son of *Sher Andaz Khan* and other individual cavaliers, being resolved upon resistance, rode out from their halting place to a distance of 1 kos. The child of your slave, realising the impossibility of his stay at Bhadayer advanced further, and although on account of the excessive heat of the sun, and the lateness of the hours for battle, the people of this side were dinning unto the ears of the habitually victorious veterans who had gathered from far and near words of advice and expediency, yet ill-luck and adversity drew the restless Kamgar Khan and his followers by their hairs to the feet of our victorious veterans. Ultimately the two armies faced each other on the plains of *Ghor-daur* (38). First Kamgar divided his army into two bands and placed himself in front of his vanguard troops. From our side fire was shot through cannon balls, iron rockets and swivel guns. At last owing to his intrepidity he dashed upon our vanguard troops. In this struggle prodigies of valour were performed by *Nawab Ahmad Khan Bahadur* and the other chiefs of the vanguard army Kamgar found it difficult to create much impression, and wheeling back he suddenly came in front of the right flank of the child of your slave. *Raja Sundar Singh* who was nearby, bravely came up..... From our side *lala Jaswant Rai* and other servants of the Sarkar, as also *Raja Sunder Singh Bahadur*, put up a fight with matchlocks and swords. The lustre of the furbished spears and the lightening of the heated swords put the warmth of the sun into shade. In this situation *Nawab Ahmad Khan Bahadur*, *Sarnam Singh*, and the contingent of *Basant* came up for assistance. Indeed, *Nawab Ahmad Khan* and *Raja Sunder Singh* fought valiantly like a *Rustum*. Heaps after heaps of the killed were built up. Numerous men belonging to the contingents of *Nawab Ahmad Khan Bahadur*, *Raja Sunder Singh Bahadur*, *Muhammadi Khan*, *Murad Khan* and *Saheb Zaman Khan* tasted the cup of marrydrom and many more were wounded. The followers of the path of deviation, too, put up a great fight and rouge of wounds brightened the countenance of valour and intrepidity. About 500 men of Kamgar were sent to the hell and many horses were also killed. A large number of people disgracefully left the field and became dispersed, in all directions.

(36) Situated in Nawadha subdivision of Gaya district.

(37) The great general of Alivardi who fought for the possession of Bihar against the latter's nephew, *Haibat Jung*, and was killed in the third attempt, in 1745.

(38) Also in the Nawadah subdivision of Gaya district.

The elephant, bearing the standard of Shadi Khan, was captured by Nawab Ahmad Khan. Kamgar Khan finding himself reduced to extremities by the issue of the battle, left the field with Shadi Khan, as foxes run away before lions and moved on, in a ruined condition, towards Bareilly (39), his headquarter. A notable victory has fallen to the lot of your slave. The drum of victory was beaten and we were returning to our camp when about 100 to 200 staggering people were put to the sword and about an equal number of men were captured. As they were not men of consequence, I let them off to pray for your auspicious head. But Kale Khan of Shah-jahanpur, Rasul Khan of Malihabad, son of Sherandaz Khan and Sultan Singh Chandel, who were wounded in the battle and taken prisoner, are being kept by the valiant people of the sarkar. As the darkness of the night was spreading, we were compelled to retire to our camps and postpone the work of pursuit to the next day. The details of those wounded and killed on that side are not available but our brave men have recognized the Nagar Sardar, Jaswant Chandel, brother of Shadi Khan, the people of Malihabad and the costly one-horse carriages. With the help of God, the pursuit will begin tomorrow and the enemies will be killed or captured, wherever they are found. Having ascertained the figures of those killed or wounded, a report would be submitted. Many say that Shadi Khan also has suffered a grievous wound. Kamgar who carried himself so haughtily and did not consider any one as his peer has been thrown upon the dust of disgrace by the enemy-killing fortune of your excellency so that it might be a lesson to the cleverer and more intelligent people.

(39) Near Husna Nawadah (Gaya).

Notes on some Sanskrit and Persian inscriptions of Sylhet.

[By Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray.]

1. *The Bhatara Copper plates*.—A reading of these two Copper-plates was published by Dr. R. L. Mitra in the J. A. S. B. as far back as August, 1880. The transcription was not quite satisfactory and some of the conclusions arrived at by Mitra were evidently wrong. The inscriptions are in early Bengali characters; they are fairly old and certainly pre-Muslim. The late Pandit Padmanath Vidyavinod suggested that a fresh transcription by the Government of India Epigraphist was necessary. The plates are in the possession of Babu Umeshchandra Deb Chaudhuri of village Bhatara in the district of Sylhet. The Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission might very kindly correspond with the Deputy Commissioner, Sylhet, with a view to secure a loan of the Plates for the use of the Government of India Epigraphist. Owners of such records usually fight shy of parting with such records even temporarily unless assured of their due return.

2. *The Nidhanpur Copper-plates* :—A correct transcription of the available sheets of this Grant is to be found in Padmanath Vidyavinod's 'Kamarupa Sasana-vali'. The last sheet of this inscription has not yet been recovered. It is vaguely rumoured that it is in the possession of a Muslim cultivator living near about the place of its find in the Karimganj subdivision of the district of Sylhet. Private effort for its recovery is not likely to be successful and the Deputy Commissioner, Sylhet, might be requested to start an inquiry through his subordinate officials.

These three Copper-Plates are of historical importance as showing that there was a large settlement of Nagara Brahmins in Sylhet, whose descendants cannot be traced today. The proper name of the district, *viz.*, Srihatta, very likely owes its origin to Hattakesvara Siva, the tutelary diety of the Nagara Brahmins. Several place-names in the Bhatara Grants have the word 'hatta' as one of their components. It appears from the Nidhanpur plates that one Manorathasvami, a Brahmin of the *Katyayana* gotra and attached to the Chandoga Veda was the *pattakapati* or custodian of the Plates. There are several Brahmin families in almost every subdivision of the district bearing the gotra-name of *Katyayana*, and it is said that Brahmins of this gotra are not to be found anywhere else in Bengal. If D. R. Bhandarkar's conclusion that the donees of the Nidhanpur Grant were Nagara Brahmins be correct,—and the present writer sees no reason to differ from him,—it would appear that Nagara Brahmins who emigrated to Sylhet have succeeded in fully concealing their identity. It is known that a Script, known as 'Sylheti Nagari,' is still in use among a section of the Muslims of Sylhet; it is strange that Hindus should have discarded it long ago. It is quite different from the Devanagari Script and was possibly the script which the Nagaras brought with them to Sylhet. A considerable section of higher-caste Hindus of Sylhet embraced Islam, and while Hindus abandoned the script long ago the Muslim converts continued its use. It is fast getting into disuse, but there is still a Sylheti Nagari Printing-Press at Sylhet printing books in this script.

3 & 4:—

I have been informed about the existence of two Persian inscriptions in my own subdivision of Sunamganj. One is stated to be inscribed on the gateway of the ruins of the residence, at village Kasba, in pergannah Laur, of the Zemindars of Baniyachong. The family was originally a Brahman one of the Katyayana gotra.

In the 'Bahr-i-stan-i-Ghayibi', Mirza Nathan states that Anwar Khan of this family was as powerful as the renowned Musa Khan, son of Isa Khan, of Sonargaon.

The other is an inscription in Persian in a copper-dish. It is in the possession of a Muslim gentleman of Muradpur, belonging to a family, once affluent, but now reduced to poverty. The gentleman claims that the inscription represents a Badsahi grant of land (jagir), whereas a Persian-knowing friend of mine considers it to have been a family affair, recording the grant of land by a charitably-disposed progenitor of the gentleman for the entertainment of guests.

5. While lying ill here, I have heard about the find in the Karimganj subdivision of the district of Sylhet of a large hoard of about two thousand pieces of coins of the Bengal Sultans. The find, it is stated, has not come to the knowledge of the District authorities.

I shall pursue items 3 and 4 as soon as I return to my headquarters by the end of October next, though they are evidently of only local interest.

Some historical records relating to Sind.

[By Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bax, B.A.]

It is now almost an established fact that the majority of sources available for writing the history of Sind are Arabic and Persian manuscripts. A considerable number of these have been discovered from time to time, in a very neglected state bearing marks of the ravages of time. The necessity of preserving these and other Mss. as well as their usefulness to students of oriental learning need not here be stressed. Of the two Mss. in Sindhi, one is in the possession of the Diwan Udham family, and the other is with Mirza Ali Nawaz of Sind. Neither of these two, to the best of my knowledge, has as yet been published, nor has any historian made use of them. The rest, which are in Persian, are found scattered in the various Libraries in and outside the province of Sind.

Another interesting document now housed in the Victoria Museum, Karachi, dealing with the treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Ameers of Sind, throws considerable light on a later chapter in the history of Sind.

The last days of the rule of Talpur Mirs (in Sindhi) by Diwan Udham Chandumal Thandani.

میرن جي صاحب جي پڄاری

This manuscript embodies a paper read by the author before a public meeting held at Hyderabad (Sind) in December 1896, under the presidency of the late Diwan Dayaram Gidumal. Though it was published in a local paper of some celebrity called the *Sarswati*, it is impossible to get any old issues of that paper, because the paper died a premature death about 17 years ago. The manuscript is based on several conversations which the learned author had with Munshi Awatrai, the Minister of Mir Sobdar Khan Talpur, in 1894, when the Munshi Sahib was alive. In spite of his old age, the Munshi Sahib could remember distinctly the events which had taken place nearly fifty years previously. The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that it gives a clear picture of the social and economic life of the people of Hyderabad (Sind) in the first half of the 19th century. The historical information about British negotiations with the Talpurs immediately after the Battle of Meeani, as narrated by the Munshi himself, is very illuminating and worth noting.

Biography of Sheedee Hosh Muhammad by Mirza Ghulam Mahdi.

هوش مستند حبشي، جو احوال

Sheedee Hosh Muhammad, the subject of this biography, was one of the commanders of Mir Sher Muhammad Khan Talpur, who was killed in the battle of Dubba. His descendants are still living at Tando Thoro in Sindh. This manuscript was written by one Mirza Ghulam Mahdi, and is based upon the information supplied to the author by Hosh Muhammad's descendants. An account based on oral tradition may be viewed with scepticism. But it does give some valuable, authentic

historical information, which corresponds substantially with an account of the battle of Dubba which appeared in the Sindhi bi-monthly paper *Jot*, April 20, 1899.

Tarikh Fatch Sind.

تاریخ فتح سند

A History of the Conquest of Sind.—This work, $8" \times 5.7" \times 0.7"$ is bound in a hard black leather cover, but the writing is somewhat indistinct and worm-eaten. The pages are neither marked nor arranged in order, but on counting were found to be 303. This manuscript was written in A. D. 1080 and a later owner has added A. H. 1184 on the last page. The History itself is brought down to A. H. 999, to the times of Emperor Akbar. According to the fashion then prevailing, which was adopted by many authors to please the Emperor, the work has no Bismillah at the beginning nor anything in praise of the Prophet; and it terminates with the complete subjugation of Sind under the sway of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar. The work is divided into four parts as follows :—

- I. Conquest of Sind (for the first time) during the Khalifates of the Ommaiades and the Abbas sides.
- II. The Emperors of India who also possessed Sind.
- III. The Afghan Dominion.
- IV. Occupation of Sind by the generals of Akbar down to the time of the composition of this History.

The record begins with A. H. 692, when Sind was under a Brahmanic government (which is discussed at some length) which was overthrown by the Muslims, but the narrative begins to be more attractive when Humayun, the father of Akbar enters the theatre of war. The manuscript embraces the whole history of Sind for about four centuries. It is the property of the Kana Oriental Institute, Bombay.

Tarikh Mamalik-i-Hind.

تاریخ ممالک ہند

History of the Countries of India.—This work, $8" \times 4.8" \times 0.9"$ is neatly written and is decently preserved at the Mulla Feroze Library, Bombay. It gives the description of the Governments of Sind, Thatta, Multan and the rise of Islam in these parts; the Jams or native *rajas*; the Sultans of Multan from the rise of Islam. The compiler of this work, Kulman Shah, states that he began it in A. H. 1196 at Calcutta by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (Giles Stibbert) in whose service he was, and at the end of the manuscript he states that he completed it in A. H. 1240 (i.e., 44 years afterwards). The only copies existing are those which he made for himself and for his master: probably this manuscript because of its neat appearance, being written on glazed paper with red headings and strongly bound in leather, belonged to the latter.

Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh.

مختار التواريخ.

Compendium of History.—This manuscript, $10\cdot2''\times10\cdot8''\times7''\times1\cdot2''$, is written in black ink, with marginal notes and names in red and is bound in yellow leather covers, with pages not marked, slightly damaged by worms, but with fine calligraphy, the approximate number of pages being 440, and it is the property of the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.

This copy was made in A. H. 1060 and gives a description of the kings of Sind; the Argun Dynasty of Sind; the Lanka government in Multan, etc. The manuscript appears to be an abridged edition of a universal history commenced by the order of Emperor Akbar and completed during the reign of his son and successor Jehangir. The author's name is Hassan B. Muhammad B. Kaky Shirazy. The work begins with Adam and ends with the beginning of the reign of Jehangir.

History of Junagadh and Halar by Ranchodji Amarji Diwan.

تاریخ جونا گڑھ و ہالار

In the collection of Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society there are two manuscripts. A History of Sorath and its Kings and a History of Junagadh and Halar by Ranchodji Amarji, Diwan, which are related to each other, but the latter one is on the whole the fuller of the two, and contains signs of revision. This work $11''\times6''$ with 310 pages, slightly, worm-eaten with certain names in the Nagari script in the margin, is written by two hands.

In this manuscript we find the description of Maughan's conquest of Sind on page 65, which agrees with the description given in the first manuscript "Tarkikh-i-Sorath and of its Kings" on page 20, and with that of the Tarikh-i-Sorath by E. Rehatsek, Bombay 1882, on page 105.

Tarikh-i-Alfi.

تاریخ الفی

In the collection of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts transferred by the Government of Bombay to the University of Bombay, there is a manuscript Tarikh-e-Alfi written by a Sindhi historian Mulla Ahmad Tatawi of Thatta in Sind, at the command of Akbar in A. H. 993 (A. D. 1585). Mulla Ahmad Tatawi was assassinated in A. H. 996 (A. D. 1588) after which the work was continued by Jafar Beg Asaf Khan.

This manuscript Tarikh-e-Alfi of 1008 pages with fine small *naskh* is a portion of a most valuable and exceedingly general history of the Muslim world in the first millenium after the Prophet's *Riklat*. This very rare manuscript is in a well preserved condition, though some of the pages are damaged and repaired. It ends with year 1,000 of the Hijra.

Manuscript original of the treaty between the Honourable East India Company and the Ameers of Sindh—November 9th, 1820.

Kept in the Victoria Museum, Karachi.

The power of the British had been rising steadily in Cutch which borders on Sindh, after the conclusion of treaty with the Rao of Cutch in 1816. The opportunity for extending their influence in Sind presented itself in 1820, when the soldiers of the Mirs of Sind attacked by way of retaliation a British force which while pursuing a band of plunderers of the Khosa tribe on the eastern border of Sind, had fallen on a party of Sindhi soldiers by mistake. Taking advantage of this incident, the Government of Bombay demanded satisfaction from the Mirs, "for the unwarrantable acts of hostility committed by the rulers of Sind" (Malcolm). Accordingly, a Mission was dispatched and it concluded this treaty with Mir Kureem Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan on November 9th, 1820, in which they agreed "not to permit any European or American to settle in their dominion," etc.

Local records—A Delhi experience and suggestion.

[By Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph. D. (Cantab).]

A recent spell of work on the history and administration of Delhi and its territory in the late 18th and early 19th centuries has suggested the following reflections upon the value of local records for historical purposes, and the place of local histories in the larger history of the country. Local records and history are to their national counterparts what the cells of the body are to the whole organism. From Memoirs, state documents and the private papers of statesmen we learn the main threads of national policy. But it is from local records that we learn of their detailed application, of their effect upon the proper study of all historians, mankind itself. To take one instance, the land revenue policy of the Government of India can easily be ascertained from Government pronouncements, blue books and legislative enactments. But the effect of the policy upon the lives of the people themselves can only be discovered by reference to the local records where the district officer reports the state of the villages with which he has to deal, and the effect of Government measures upon their prosperity. In the early 19th century there is constant repetition by administrators of good revenue intentions; the note that moderate assessments must be the rule is constantly struck. But only the local records can show how far that drumming note from headquarters found an echo in the countryside. Too often the facts of the latter belied the intentions of the former. In Delhi, Metcalfe, an apostle of moderate assessments, is shown by the local records to have actually increased them at a peculiarly difficult time.

Delhi is a very favourable subject for the local historian because, during most of the period of its pre-Mutiny British administration, it was with its Territory in effect a province of its own. Its Territory was not simply the City and the surrounding country. It stretched from Palwal in the south to the Simla Hills in the north and the Sutlej in the north-west. It included both the fertile districts of Sonapat and Karnal, the Jat country of Rohtak, and the wide plains of Newat and Hissar, where lions still roamed. The Resident until 1835 enjoyed exceptional powers and had no superior save the Governor-General. The exemption of Delhi from the Regulations still further added to his freedom. His position was something like that of the Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province before the Reforms.

Delhi has also its peculiar difficulties for the local historian. This is the result of the Mutiny, which involved the destruction of the major part of the Government records, of all the surviving Mogul records, and of an unknown quantity of private family papers.

We may now sum up the authorities which have been used, in the hope that when allowances have been made for local peculiarities, the experiences here noted may provide hints for investigators in other localities. There are first the local official records themselves. The greater part of these have been destroyed, as already noticed. Those that survive, known as the Delhi Residency Records, are

preserved in the Record Office of the Punjab Government at Lahore. They are mainly political, and contain much material for the study of the relations of the British with the last Mogul emperors. In addition there are the records of the Ludhiana Agency, which deal with Sikh affairs, the hill-states, and the Gurkha wars. The historian of the Simla Hills or of the Gurkha wars will find much valuable material there. The administrative records are missing and with them has gone much valuable material from the pens of Ochterlony, the Metcalfes and others. Some compensation for this is to be found in the district records of Karnal, Panipat, Ambala, etc. So far as I know, these have been studied by no historian. The authors of the Delhi Settlement Report dipped into some of these records, and their excerpts from them are of such value as to suggest that their further study would be well worth while. In days when the importance of records for historical purposes is so widely recognised, and when district officers are so generally enlightened, it ought not be difficult to obtain access to these local record offices.

After the local records come the voluminous Government of India records, now, with the exception of the Judicial Consultations, stored in the Public Record Office in New Delhi. Search in these records for matters of local interest is often laborious, but the labour is eased by the indices provided for each year. Here the main lines of Government policy as affecting a particular locality can be discovered, and the reactions of the local officers to that policy. Any local issue of unusual importance will find an echo in these records, and will sometimes be fully dealt with. In the case of Delhi the main lines of the Government's policy towards the Moguls are to be found in the Despatches of the Court to the Supreme Government. Certain important matters affecting the peculiar administrative conditions of the Delhi Territory are to be found in the Consultations. The whole dossier of the Colebrooke case is to be found in the Political Consultations. With patients and ingenuity, the wider bearings of local issues, and the local consequences of wider decisions, can both be learnt from the central Government records.

The records preserved in the India Office cannot be omitted from such a survey as this. Though the actual Government records are the same, there are in addition many other papers which make reference to the India Office Library essential and fruitful. To mention only two, there is the series of European Manuscripts and the Home Miscellaneous Series. From the former the legend of Bentinck's proposal to abolish the Taj had its origin¹. The huge collection known as the Home Miscellaneous Series, running to over 700 volumes, is a mine filled with the most varied ore. Some of the volumes consist of excerpts from the Records collected for the convenience of the Home authorities when some particular subject was under consideration. Several volumes are devoted to Delhi Affairs in this way. These excerpts are remarkably convenient to the student, but copyist's errors are frequent, and they should be treated with some caution unless the records are clearly transcribed *in extenso*. Some volumes contain stray collections of letters and these are often of service to the biographer. Most of the Delhi characters, like Ochterlony, William Fraser and the Metcalfes are represented in this way. Then there are the collections of private papers which make the Series indispensable.

After the official records must be noted the private papers of individuals with local experience. In the case of 19th century Delhi these are naturally mainly

¹ General Marcus Beresford's Journal of a Residence in India from 1836.

English. Many collections of private papers have been given to public institutions and are accessible to the student. The most important places in this connection are the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the India Office Library. But many more are still in private hands up and down the country. Some of their owners do not realise their value, and much must have perished from this cause. A large proportion of the valuable Metcalfe papers were lost in this way.

The difficulty in this connection is greatest precisely with the men whose local knowledge we should like to tap. The greater figures—Governor-General's members of Council or Generals—had usually families who realised the importance of their papers, and either handed them over to the nation or preserved them carefully themselves. The Ellenborough papers are an example of the former and the Bentinck Papers of the latter. These papers only serve for local matters when the author happened to spend his youth in the country. Even then he often in later life destroyed or lost his early papers, as in the case of Sir Charles Trevelyan. The lesser men, or the men who spent their lives in lesser positions, have usually kept their papers to themselves, and it is these which are full of the local knowledge we need. In the case of Delhi the Kaye Papers in the India Office are invaluable for the Mutiny. The surviving Metcalfe and Trevelyan papers have proved most valuable; but there are others of equal importance, like the Ochterlony papers, which are not accessible. But what of the Frasers and the Gubbins? Many of these men were of great ability; William Fraser in particular, was only debarred from high preferment by a certain angularity of character. Their papers, if they survive, would be of immense value for local history, yet even their descendants are not easy to trace. What is said here applies with equal or greater force to other districts of India, for Delhi had a lion's share of personalities who rose to high position and were therefore more likely to have their papers publicly or privately preserved.

From records and private papers we pass to memoirs and books of travel. India was rich in books of this sort in the early 19th century. The interior was then largely unknown, and at the same time newly opened up. Men felt a zest in travelling for the first time through a country about which they had heard so much in history and story and knew so little. And there was always the mysterious north-west beyond, guarded by the one-eyed warrior of the Punjab, to stimulate the imagination and arouse the spirit of adventure. In England too, there was an eager interest in such things which enabled these books to be printed and reprinted. So the works of Heber, Jacquemont, von Hugel, Hoffmeister, Fanny Parks and Emily Eden, to mention a few travellers within British India only, have all something of value for the historian. Emily Eden, apart from a brilliant portrait of Ranjit Singh, confined herself mainly to English social life. Jacquemont is the most witty, but Heber overtops them all by the breadth of his knowledge, the range and accuracy of his observation, his understanding imagination and the force of his style. Delhi, as the Mogal capital and the British frontier station, was an inevitable port of call for these travellers, and each contributed their quota. Heber described the Court of Akbar II and Emma Roberts, an otherwise obscure writer, gave a vivid picture of the city of Delhi in the thirties of the last century. The imitators of the greater travel journalists were legion, and while their works are very generally dull, they often contain information of value.

Lastly come the printed works based upon primary sources. The most useful of this class are biographies such as Bosworth Smith's *Life of John Lawrence*, Kaye's *Lives* and Edward Thompson's new life of Charles Metcalfe. Sometimes the early (and locally valuable) years are passed over in haste. But this is not always the case and then they are often valuable. Mr. Thompson for example, gives a vivid picture of conditions round Delhi during Metcalfe's early years.

There is one source which I have kept to the last, because I want to emphasise its value and importance. It is the Indian counterpart of the private papers of English officials. All over India are lying, often neglected and forgotten, the papers of men who occupied prominent positions before the British, at the time of their arrival, or under them afterwards. Old families are notoriously chary of revealing their secrets, but that traditional objection should apply much less to the 19th century than to earlier days, when documents affecting property and landed rights are in question. How valuable, for example, would be the papers of some of Metcalfe's, Indian assistants; how intriguing those of the Palace officials. The Mutiny diaries collected by Kaye, and the two accounts published by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe¹ show what a rich mine is here awaiting exploitation.

The task of unearthing these papers is the proper work of the Indian historian, as the task of discovering the papers of English officials is that of his English brother. In order to gain access to these papers there must first be the knowledge of their existence. This comes easily and naturally to men with local knowledge and connections. Next the traditional suspicion of every enquiry into the past must be overcome. Based as it often is, upon the vague fear that such an enquiry foreshadows official interference, this suspicion can usually be much more easily dissipated by the local man than by a foreigner, however amiable he may be. When access to the papers has been obtained, there remains the sorting, the transcription of important passages, and the reporting of the results. It may be suggested at this point that as the Public Records Commission would be the proper authority to which to report, the Imperial Record Office would be the proper place where such papers might be deposited.

Here is eminently an opportunity for co-operation between the Record Offices throughout the country and the historians. If historians would search out such papers in their various localities, and the Record Offices would undertake to preserve such papers as were historically valuable, each would encourage the other, and progress would be rapid. Many families who dislike the idea of some stranger prying into their papers for no very obvious purpose, would modify their attitude if they realised that the examination was of public benefit. The storing of valuable papers in a record office would be a public recognition which would go far to soothe that very real, if not always very reasonable thing, family pride. The working out of such a scheme must depend not only upon the goodwill of the Record authorities and the zeal of historians, but on the co-operation of colleges and universities, to which the historians are attached.

In conclusion, one word may be said on the value of such local investigations. The supreme value, to my mind of local records, lies not in their contribution to the political chronicle of the country, but in the light they throw upon the actual social and economic condition of the people. Economic and social history are both gravely

¹ Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny.

handicapped by the lack of such knowledge. We are more and more realising that the proper study of the historian is the whole field of man's activities, his whole organic social life. But in India we have hardly yet emerged from the political and economic conceptions of History. This is not by any means the sole fault of the historians; it is in large part due to the lack of the requisite material. It is by the study of local record and the discovery of local private papers, that this gap in material may be filled, and this omission in Indian historical studies be rectified.

An unpublished work containing official correspondence of the early Asafjahi period.

[By Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B.]

This work which bears the quaint title of "Insha-i-Chahar Gulshan" meaning the four gardens of literary composition, is a valuable collection of official correspondence during the early Asafjahi period. It is a small work of which a single copy is extant in the State Library of Hyderabad. It contains 160 pages written on old country made paper. Legible though the hand-writing is, it has been carelessly transcribed with no regard to the art of calligraphy. According to the statement of the compiler given at the end of the book in verse, it was compiled in 1206 A. H., that is, in the reign of Nizam Ali Khan. It is supposed to have been compiled by a person named Wali Mohammad Hyderabad, as shown in the Library Catalogue, but the name is nowhere directly mentioned in the body of the work. It lies locked up, however, in a cryptogram in a poem. The author relies on the imagination of his readers to find out his name through a complicated process of word-building. The only name mentioned explicitly in the introduction is that of the compiler's son, Ghulam Mohiuddin, for whom the work was prepared. The object of the compiler is obviously not to make any serious contribution to either history or literature. As he has put it explicitly, it was rather prepared as a text book for the training of his own son in the art of composition. The official correspondence comprising royal edicts and letters exchanged between the state officials, was supposed to be the best material for giving the students a good grounding in composition. Persons who had the prospect of filling higher posts in the State, were required to acquaint themselves with this sort of work, so that they might improve the power of expression and learn the prescribed form of address according to the position of the addressee. Humble though the compiler's aim was, it has helped to preserve several important ukases of the early Nizams such as Nizamul-mulk, Nasir Jung, Basalat Jung and Nizam Ali Khan; petitions which were submitted to them by the grantees of the state; and letters which were exchanged between the civil and the military officers. Since the correspondence covers a pretty long and a formative period, from the foundation of the Hyderabad State upto 1205 A. H., that is the middle of Nizam Ali Khan's rule, it is exceptionally important for the study of Hyderabad affairs, both foreign and domestic, and its relations with Mysore, the Mharatta State, and the French and the English Companies.

As is usually the case with almost all the Muslim works, it begins with the praise of God and of the Holy Prophet, followed by an explanation as to why the task of compilation was undertaken. Then comes a humble appeal to the readers to judge leniently if they find faults in the work, because the author admits, that the undertaking was beyond his powers. The author intended to collect, in a book form, official papers of various categories, which were within his reach. They, being of different types, are classified under four heads. Under the 1st head are arranged the "Parwanajat" or orders, issued by the early Nizams, under the 2nd, are the petitions

submitted to them, and under the 3rd and 4th are given the letters which were exchanged between the civil and military officers of the State. The letters are also classified into two sections according to the nature of their contents. Official letters are termed as "Maktoob" and those of a private nature are termed as "Rugqaat". Hence the title of the book is "Chahar Gulshan". No blank space separates these sections from each other, so that one section ends and another begins on the same page without any spacing. But the headings are in bold letters and in red ink to make them distinct.

"PARWANAJAT" OR ORDERS.

They number 59, out of which 17 were issued by Nizamulmulk to whom the author pays a high tribute couched in magniloquent phrases. The remaining orders are either by the succeeding Nizams as Nasir Jung and Basalat Jung, who are mentioned in the book by their titles, Nizamuddoula and Shujaulmulk respectively, or by persons whose names are not mentioned. The anonymous orders were most probably issued by Nizam Ali Khan and Basalat Jung. Though the latter had no chance to ascend the musnad as the Nizam, yet he played a prominent part in the administrative affairs of the Deccan. He acted as a chief minister in the reign of Nasir Jung and Nizam Ali Khan, and as such he had to issue orders to his subordinate officers. The orders, excepting one which was issued to Murari Rao, contain no mention of the persons to whom they were issued. According to the compiler, they are addressed to Nawab Abdun Nabi Khan and his sons, Abdul Majeed Khan and Abdul Haleem Khan, of whom he speaks in highly complimentary terms. In view of the fact that the orders contain clear references to the administrative affairs of Karnatak and warning to guard against the Mharatta raids in the region, there is every reason to believe that the addressees were no other than Nawab Abdun Nabi Khan and his sons. The Nawab and all his relations were the descendants of the great Nawab Abdul Kareem Bahlol Khan, the famous general of Bijapur, who joined the Mugal service after the fall of the kingdom, and were posted as Foujdars and Jagirdars in the various districts of Karnatak. Abdun Nabi Khan, who acted as the Foujdar of Kadpa, died in the reign of Nizamulmulk, and his sons, who survived upto the reign of Nizam Ali Khan, were entrusted with the administration of Karnatak.

Almost all the orders are matter-of-fact and business-like in spirit, dealing exclusively with the civil and military affairs, as the appointment and dismissal of officers, offensive and defensive movements of armies, and the despatch of embassies to the Mharatta rulers. A very few of them which are pretty long, contain some references to personal affairs in the introduction. It is curious to note that the orders which were issued by Nizamulmulk begin with the uniform complimentary expressions which are distinct from those found in the orders issued by Nasir Jung and Basalat Jung. Some of the orders, for example No. 1, which refers to the embassy of Nimbalkar Rao and Sripat Rao, sent to Raja Shahu to settle the points at issue between the States, and the advance of Baji Rao's brother from Malwa and Gujrat into the Deccan, and No. 14, which describes the famous battle of Shakar Kheda which was decided in 1732 in favour of the future Asafjahi dynasty of Hyderabad, seem to be very important. The latter gives in full the impressions of Nizamulmulk about the battle and his foe Mubariz Khan who met him on the battlefield.

2. PETITIONS.

The petitions are 18 in number. They were submitted by several officers, civil and military, posted in different parts, especially in the Southern district of the Deccan. The names given in the beginning of the petitions are, Mohammad Khan, Abdun Nabi Khan, Faizullah, Azeezullah, Munawar Khan, Syed Ali, Roushan Khan, Mohammad Ameen, Mohammad Hashim, Abdul Jabbar Khan, Mohammad Murad and so on. Some of them, as Mohammad Khan, Abdun Nabi Khan, to whom many orders are issued, Munawar Khan, Mohammad Ameen and Mohammad Hashim are famous. A very few petitions clearly point out that they were submitted to Nizamulmulk and Nizam Ali Khan, whereas the remaining ones are all transcribed without the names, a grave omission on the part of the compiler. It requires a close study of their contents with regard to the circumstances described and the facts noted in them to guess to whom they were submitted. But nonetheless, they are of great help in the study of the period with regard to the political conditions and the administration of Hyderabad in the reigns of the early Nizams.

3. "MAKTOOBS".

Maktoobs or official letters number 38. They were exchanged between the grandees of the state covering a long period from Nizamul-Mulk to Nizam Ali Khan. They were written by famous persons like Murari Rao, Abdul Haleem Khan, Syed Mohiuddin, Diwan of Shujaulmulk, Ruknuddowla, Ran Mast Khan, Abdun Nabi Khan, Sirajuddowla, Khaja Asim, and Ali Nawaz Khan. Some of these letters are transcribed with clear mention of the writer and the addressee, for example the letters by Murari Rao to Nawab Abdul Haleem Khan and his replies to the former, and by Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan to Raja Partapwant, whereas many letters are without the names of the addressees. A few of them are entirely anonymous with no mention of the writer or the addressee. But all of them, however, are as important as the petitions, because they give a clear idea of the administrative spirit of the period testifying to the efficiency of the officers and to the control exercised by the central Government. Besides, they point out how the officers coped with new situation as they arose and how they exercised their judgment.

4. "RUQQAAT" OR THE PRIVATE LETTERS.

The fourth and the last section of the book contains as many as seventy three letters termed as Ruqqaat. Though they primarily deal with private affairs such as celebration of marriages, entertainments and social parties, still they have their own importance. First of all, it appears that they were exchanged between the same officers who wrote the official letters, and secondly, in addition to the social condition and family life which is described in the letters and which is equally important in the study of the period, they contain passing remarks about the administrative matters and the conduct of the government, a fact which shows that these noblemen were alive to the importance of political affairs even in their private capacities.

Social Reform under Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad (1800-1820 A.D.).

[By Prof. C. V. Joshi, M.A.]

1. While going through the records of the reign of H. H. Anandrao Maharaja, I came across some of his orders which bring out his liberal and advanced outlook of the social customs prevalent in Gujarāt 125 years ago. Taking into consideration the rigid puritanical ideas of Hindu society in the early 19th century, Anandrao, certainly, compares favourably with his grand-nephew Sayajirao III of the early 20th century in his progressive views and leniency towards the failings of the human beings. Anandrao seems to have been surprisingly in advance of his superstition-ridden times. Let me summarise a few specimen orders of the Maharaja to support my statement.

Introductory.

2. Caste-dinner is a very oppressive and expensive custom in Gujarāt. Poor men and women including destitute widows still are subjected to the tyrannies of this enforced festivity and it was much more so a century back. The Gaikwad rulers interfered with this usage and kept the dinners under control. An order from the Baroda Government says :

Caste-dinner restricted.

“Nathubhai Kuber of Ahmedabad wanted to hold a caste-dinner but it was prohibited by Government owing to high prices. As however all the arrangements for the same are completed, permission is given to have it performed.” (27th January 1813).*

Another order says, “Two ladies of the Audich Brahman caste performed Sati. Government have prohibited caste-dinner but in this case, they allow the dinners to be held.” (30th May 1813).

3. Removal of excommunication on persons seems to have been frequently resorted to by the Gaikwads. An order of 19th December 1811 (Vol. IV, p. 601) directs the Baroda officers to take steps to remove the ban imposed by the caste-men on Ishwar, a Shrimali goldsmith, for having married a widow, and to compel the castemen to take a dinner at his place. This order shows a sympathetic attitude towards remarriage in certain castes and a resentment against the mischievous practice of outcasting members of a caste.

Widow remarriage countenanced.

4. This attitude is shown in a higher degree in orders which condone people's conduct regarded as suspicious in society. A lady named Bai Acharat's case. Acharat of Patan was excommunicated on suspicion because her husband was long staying in Kathiawad, a hundred miles away. The Gaikwad ordered her caste to take her and her husband back into their fold. (10th April 1817).

Bai Acharat's case.

Then there was a Brahman at Siddhpur who was found guilty of engaging the services of a maidservant of the untouchable class. The learned Shastris were consulted by the Gaikwad, who saw that the proper penance was performed by the culprit before he was ordered to be taken back into the Brahmin caste. (20th April 1816, Vol. V, p. 764).

A guilty Brahman recalled.

5. But the most liberal attitude taken in this respect is proved in an order (9th June 1802) to the whole Brahmin community of Gujerat and outside to extend their pardon to the widow of one Sadashiv Laxman, guilty of an unworthy act. The Government ordered that she should be purified by a penance and taken back into the community along with her children. Her accomplice Amritrao who had fallen at the feet of the Brahmins was also to be pardoned and admitted into the fold according to the same order.

6. The Gaikwads evince a similar leniency towards persons who have committed the crime of crossing over the boundaries of this country. A Brahman gosai allowed to backside. A letter from Anandrao Maharaja to Vitthalrao Babaji (1st August 1809, Vol. IV p. 584) states that a Brahmin named Vasudeopant became a gosai, wandered in a distant lands for four years breaking the caste rules in food and drink. He was excommunicated in consequence. He yielded himself to the Brahmins of Ahmedabad with a prayer to get himself purified. The letter asks Vitthalrao to request the Brahmins to impose a penance on Vasudeopant and to readmit him into his caste.

7. It may be added that the Brahmins agreed to cause the rebirth of Vasudeopant from a vessel full of ghee and to perform all the Brahmanical rites prescribed from infancy onwards to the regenerated Brahmin !

The oldest European monument in India.

[By Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A.]

Among the historical relics conserved by the Government of Travancore are a few of the European monuments in India belonging to the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. Of these, the most important is the little Fort at Pallipuram situated on the north of Travancore : and it is probably the oldest European monument extant in India at present. During the early days of the Portuguese settlement on the West Coast, three Forts were built—one at Cochin, the second at Cranganore and the third at Pallipuram. No vestiges of the Fort at Cochin are seen at present. A wall of the fortification about 60 to 70 yards in length, a ruined gateway and an underground powder magazine situated on a mound of earth 15 ft. high are all that have survived of the once famous Fort at Cranganore. The only relic of the early Portuguese period not in ruins and consequently the oldest European structure extant in India is therefore the little Fort at Pallipuram. This Fort was built by the Portuguese for the purpose of commanding the entrance to the backwater from the north. The building is small and could be defended by a handful of men. Gasper Correa calls it "the little Castle" and says it was built in 1507 to hold the entrance to the backwater, that it was octagonal in shape, that each of the facet was pierced for cannon and that it was garrisoned by about 20 men. This Fort is also known by the name of Azhikotta or Ayakotta ; and in the letters of Powney and others, it is mentioned by the latter name. Strangely it is called by Correa as an octagonal building and by Day as "a small octagon tower" ; but it is in fact a hexagonal building.

The little village of Pallipuram exists on the northern extremity of the Island of Vypeen on the north of Cochin, 13 miles in length and with the breadth varying from 1 to 3 miles and supposed to have been formed by the silt carried by the Periyar river that meets the sea near the place where it is situated now. This narrow strip of island belonged originally to the Cochin State when the Portuguese first visited the West Coast. On the northern extremity of the island of Vypeen, the Portuguese were permitted by the Raja of Cochin to build an outpost to guard the passage of foreign vessels through the mouth of the Periyar river.

The Fort at Pallipuram is a hexagonal building meant to be of 3 storeys in height. Inside the Fort, the lowest floor is raised to a height of 5 ft. from the ground level. Underneath the platform opens out a small cellar, the passage of which runs obliquely from north to south and is 3 ft. broad and 3 ft. high. The cellar itself is 4 ft. high and 7 ft. square and served as a storehouse for gun-powder. The gateway of the Fort is constructed of finely dressed granite 5 ft. 3 in. by 7 ft. the top of which is arched and the door posts and lintels well moulded. Behind the gate there is a passage widening from 5 ft. 3 in. to 7 ft. 3 in. square. By the side of it there is a well to the north of which there is a flight of 4 steps leading to a platform. Immediately to the north of the steps is an opening leading to the underground cellar. In the centre of the platform lies a circular slab of stone 3 ft. in diameter on which was erected

originally a stone pillar fragments of which are even now seen. Each face of the fort measures on the outside 32 ft. in length and 34 ft. in height, each of which having 3 embrasures one above the other. The central opening of these embrasures measures 2 ft. \times 2½ ft. There are on the whole 18 embrasures and the Fort could have mounted as many guns commanding all quarters around it. There are a number of sockets below the lower ends of these embrasures where wooden beams were fixed.

The materials employed in the construction of this Fort are laterite, granite and wood. The whole of the masonry work consists of laterite blocks set in chunam and the surfaces of the walls, which are 6 ft. in thickness, are well plastered with mortar. In the year 1663, when the Portuguese were defeated by the Dutch, all their forts and possessions on the West Coast were surrendered to the latter. In the year 1766, Hyder Ali negotiated with the Dutch for the purchase of the Forts of Cranganore and Azhikotta as they were the keys to the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore. But the bargain was for one reason or other never closed. When Travancore was threatened by an invasion of his son Tippu Sultan, it became imperative for the Travancore King Bala Ram Varma to possess these forts from the Dutch. Negotiations were therefore carried on with them by the Raja's Prime Minister Dewan Raja Kesava Pillai. Finally, on the 31st of July 1789, an agreement was executed, selling the two Forts to the Travancore King. The following authentic translation of the agreement about the purchase of the Fort of Cranganore and the outpost of Ayakotta, is available from the Government Record :—

“ The Enlightened and Powerful King of Travancore, Wanji Bala Marthanda Rama Varma, has sent his first State Minister and Dewan, the respectable Kesava Pillai to the most worshipful John Gerard Van Anglebeck, Governor of the Netherlands India and Commander of the forces of the Enlightened and Powerful Netherlands Company in the Malabar Coast with the intention of purchasing from the Company the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayakotta with the gardens and the lands belonging thereto ; having consulted and negotiated upon this, it was adjusted on the following condition :—

“ The Dewan Kesava Pillai has bought for his Master, and the Hon'ble Governor Van Angelbeck on the part of the Company has sold to the King of Travancore for the just sum of three hundred thousand Surat Rupees, the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayakotta, with the cannon and ordinance belonging to them as they now stand together with the powder magazine ”.

All this was negotiated in the Fort of Cochin in the year Koilang 974 and on the 19th of the month of Karakadagom, the 31st July 1789, and the whole transaction was carried out in the presence of Powney the British Resident in Travancore. For a number of years afterwards, the Palliport tract was leased out successfully to influential landlords, when in 1870 the Government of Travancore assumed its direct management.

The Honourable Chief Justice Rama Shastri Prabhune.

of the

Poona Supreme Court.

[By MR. VASUDEO V. THAKUR.]

In the district of Satara, on the banks of the river Sri Krishna stand Kshetra Mahuli and Sangam Mahuli.

Sangam Mahuli was, in obedience to the orders of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja, colonized by Pratinidhi in 1719 A. D. giving the village-land in Inam to learned Brahmin families : one of the donees was Gangadharbhatt Moreshwarbhatt Prabhune—the ancestor of the subject of this paper.

In course of time evil days fell on the family, and Rama came to Poona as an illiterate boy seeking maintenance by personal service. He lived as an attendant on a rich Jagirdar. One day, a jeweller brought his merchandise for the inspection of the Jagirdar. Young Rama, while pouring water on the feet of his master, was attracted by the sight of the jewellery, and the water from his pot fell astray. The master, in anger, rebuked the boy, and then questioned him as to whether he was attentive to his duty. The reply of the straight-forward boy was that his eyes were diverted by the jewellery. The straight reply was not appreciated by the master, who, on the contrary, angrily remarked “ The jewellery is not meant for a poor worthless boy like you : the valiant in the field, and the learned in lore alone deserve it.” The words touched the young heart, and the boy, with an honest, straight-forward demeanour replied “ You have, by these words, become my Guru and guide. Sword is not my profession, the Shastras are, however, my field, and now I turn to them.”

The young boy left Poona, and travelled afoot all the way to Benares. One can well imagine the story of his travel all this distance in those days. Benares was then a great centre of ancient learning. Every learned savant had his home full of aspiring youths. There are ten branches of this lore. The top was, as usual, reached, by a select few. Young Rama aspired to reach the top. Self-help and service endeared him to his Gurus, and at the end of the stipulated period he became an acknowledged savant of ten branches in the city and circle of Benares.

Servant Rama returned to Poona as Savant Rama Shastri.

Rama Shastri in the Royal Court of Poona (as seen in the “ Selections from the Peshwa Daftar”).

(i) Rama Shastri Mahulikar is paid Rs. 55 for the service of a month and a half, on 21st February 1762 A. D. (Vol. 39, Page 173). He was then a mere Ashrit.

(ii) Two clerks, working under the Shastri (who is now “ Justice ”) are paid Rs. 225 on 16th March 1763 A.D. It is, therefore, certain that Rama Shastri has, by this time, ascended the Bench, and is no longer looked upon as Ashrit.

(iii) Peshwa Madhao Rao I addresses a letter dated 15th June 1768 A.D. (in camp). "In the service of master Ramashastry well-versed in the Vedas and Shastras, from Madhao Rao Ballal—a disciple." The tone of the letter informing the joyful news of victory of the Peshwa over his uncle is very free and friendly. In short, Rama Shastri has ascended one step more and is no longer an ashrit, or a mere "justice" but has become a familiar and friendly figure with his Royal Master. (Vol. XIX, letter No. 88.)

Things go on smoothly for a number of years and then comes in, the disaster of the murder of Peshwa Narayen Rao. Grant Duff remarks "After Raghunath Rao (uncle of the Peshwa) had avowed his having so far participated in the fall of his nephew, he asked Rama Shastri what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life", replied the *undaunted and virtuous Shastree*, "for, your future life cannot be passed in amendment; neither you nor your government can prosper; and for my own part I will neither accept of any employment nor enter Poona, whilst you preside over the administration." He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village near Wae" (Grant Duff. Vol. II, page 6). While he was away from his capital, the principal persons of the Poona Ministry succeeded in their own plans.

Sakharam Bapu, the leader of the successful ministry, informs the Shastri that the young infant Peshwa would receive his robe of office on 14th May 1774 (Selections Vol. V, letter No. 49).

The Shastri returned, and was reinstated in his former post on 4th July 1774, (Selections Vol. V, letter No. 49). Sakharam Bapu and Nana Fadnavis, the leading lights of the ministry under the infant Peshwa, both individually request, in their own notes dated 26th September 1774, that the Shastri should continue his former demeanour of administering justice under the present regime of "many". They individually swear that they would not interfere (Vol. V, letters Nos. 57 and 58.)

From 23rd July 1775 to 10th June 1786 A.D. we see the Shastri engaged, as well as consulted, on the "Charity-Board". He introduced reforms by instituting compartmental examinations separate camps, judicious separation of the injured and the helpless, and out-door centres. His personal example of supervising the entire procedure influenced others in high positions, and under-hand dealings as well as corruption of every sort were reduced to a minimum (Vol. 43, letters Nos. 52, 53, 54, 56, 83, 84, 86 and 89).

The Shastri's strictness was commented upon, in the following humorous verse :—

वृष्टिना पंकमहो विचित्रं, स्थलक्षये निष्ठति सर्वकालं ।

दानांबुमिर्माद्यताय मंदिरे; विप्रस्य वागैः खलु रामशस्त्रिणाम् ।।

Translation :—Mud is being produced without the aid of rain! What a wonderful phenomenon is it! This mud is to be observed on two spots in all seasons. In the

Palace of Madhao Rao, mud is amassed by the water flowing due to charities granted ; in the house of Rama Shastri, the mud is due to the tears shed by Brahmins (examined strictly by the Shastri). There is extant a Bakhar owned by Vinayak Rao Deshmukh which describes the way in which the young Peshwa Madhao Rao II was, at times, being initiated into the art and science of " government " by the devout learned Shastri. (Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Annual Report Shak 1836.)

The venerable Shastri breathed his last on Wednesday, 21st October 1789 A.D., his consort preceding him 12 years earlier.

The Shastri's important decisions.

The Shastri had, during his career as Chief Justice, to deal principally with cases connected with two great episodes of political character :—(i) The Panipat campaign ; and (ii) the appearance of the Pretender assuming the name of Sada-shiv Rao Bhau—the hero of the Panipat.

The episodes had both social as well as religious aspects and offshoots : and the decisions of the Shastri in connection therewith are remarkable for their precision.

(a) A Bramhin was converted to Islam after the battle of Panipat. He remained so for eleven years ; he was re-converted to Hinduism without proper authority : his cousin dined with him : the cousin was prescribed penance and taken back into the Hindu fold.

The wife of the convert was ordered Divorce.

(Selections Vol. 43 L. Nos. 107 and 140.)

(b) A very learned Brahmin took his food with the Pretender. Taking into consideration his high learning and pure life, as well as taking into consideration his ignorance of Court and political matters, the Shastri prescribed a mild form of penance. (Selections Vol. 43, letter No. 50.)

(c) A Brahmin had entered into menial service of the Pretender, and had thus kept intercourse with the latter. Neither learning nor very pure life were to be marked in the case. The Brahmin was prescribed full penance.

(Selections Vol. 43, letter No. 56.)

Forced deceitful and doubtful marriages.

(a) A young girl was forcibly taken out of the parents' house while the latter were away. One officer and two priests removed the girl to a neighbouring village and hastily patched off her marriage without performing any religious ceremony. The matter was appealed against. Rama Shastri ordered a local Panchayat to collect evidence, and the evidence was submitted. Thereon the Shastri revoked the marriage, and permitted the parents to arrange a fresh Marriage.

(Vol. 43, letters Nos. 52 and 53.)

(b) There was a dispute between two tailor-families regarding the propriety or otherwise of a proposed marriage settlement. The Shastri ordered inquiries through Panchayat, and passed a prohibitive injunction till the completion and report of the ordered inquiry came to hand.

(Vol. 43, letters Nos. 41 and 54.)

(c) A certain Brahmin, with the concurrence and aid of two Joshi brothers, was about to force a marriage. The two Joshi brothers were employees of the

Palace. Rama Shastri ordered that the two brothers be paraded in the city ; the public be warned, and the two brothers should beg in the city for maintenance ; they should be confined in the artillery department.

(Vol. 43, letter No. 145.)

Maintenance to a widow.

Maintenance is ordered to a widow of a high-class family together with restoration of her ornaments. The tone of the order is remarkable for its rebukes to the male elders of the family : the order, incidentally requests Nana Fadnavis and Sakharam Bapu not to mind the solicitations of the male applicants who might approach them.

(Vol. 34, letter No. 142.)

Adoption case.

A poor boy surnamed Sane was married charitably by a gentleman surnamed Vaidya. Sane was actually never taken in adoption in the Vaidya family, but he assumed the position and continued to perform the daily religious duties accordingly. On the death of a son of Sane, members of the Vaidya family appealed to Rama Shastri for prohibition of the utterance of their Gotra in death-rites. The death-rites of the son of Sane were prohibited from being performed as if he belonged to the Vaidya family. The matter of adoption was submitted for inquiry and report to the local Brahmins.

(Vol. 43, letter No. 126.)

In the performance of ordinary and extraordinary cases of religious rites as penance for crimes the Shastri was looked upon and even privately consulted as final and decisive authority by all parties in the State.

(Vol. 43, letters Nos. 46, 151, 152 and 153.)

His impartiality was vouchsafed publicly by the highest authorities.

(Vol. 43, letters Nos. 132, 134 and 164.)

Anecdotes.

Anecdotes have their own place in the biographies of men great and good. They exhibit the inner-springs of action and make us better judges of men and motives.

Peshwa Madhao Rao I once thought that as he was a Bramhin, he should devote his days and nights to religious rites ; and so he got engrossed in reciting the Vedas, performing austerities and listening to the Puranas.

Persons seeking justice at his hand were told that the Peshwa was all—and always—busy in his own way. None dared to tender sound advice to the Peshwa. Rama Shastri, one day, waited upon the Peshwa and applied for leave to go to Benares. The Peshwa inquired of the motive of the leave. The reply was “ I am going to perform religious duties on the Ganges, and I advise Your Highness to accompany me thither.” The Peshwa was amazed by the reply. The Shastri further said “ It is impossible for you to play two parts—of a Bramhin and a Kshatriya simultaneously ; for the performance of the former part you must retire to the Ganges ; for the latter, you must abandon your newly assumed role, and resume your usual work of administration.” The words, proceeding from sincere and straight-forward

lips, went straight to the heart of the young ruler, and the world at large witnessed the most successful statesman of his times in the young Peshwa.

The Peshwa was quite conscious of the great debt he owed to this revered and learned Shastri. He, however, knew that the Shastri was a pattern of "Plain living and high thinking", content with mere maintenance. The master imagined that the consort of the Shastri might be an ordinary lady devoted to wordly possessions and enjoyments. He, therefore, hit upon a plan of trying to please her in that direction, and thus repay a little of the moral debt.

Spring festivals were then very gaily and gaudily being observed by Poona ladies. The Peshwa's Palace entertained ladies of the highest classes. According to the instructions of the Peshwa his consort personally invited the Shastri's wife to participate in the festival. Highest honours of precedence and presents were literally showered on the Shastri's wife. She was honoured with a seat in the Peshwa's palanquin on her way home, and decorated personally with a diamond necklace by the Peshwa's venerable consort.

The Shastri had returned home from office just a few minutes before the palanquin reached his gate. The Shastri greeted the lady in the palanquin with the following words :—"Honoured lady ! you have mistaken the road. This is poor Rama Shastri's house, you appear to be some noble's lady." The lady quietly got out of the palanquin, placed the necklace at the feet of the Shastri which she saluted meekly, and returned it with the palanquin back to its master. The Peshwa understood the Shastri and his consort much more thoroughly than before.

There is one more side of the Shastri's life. He was, withal, a student all his life through. In accordance with the ancient system of Aryavarta he continued to teach what he had learnt, and the line of his eminent scholars is still extant, as follows :—

Rama Shastri Prabhune

Nilkanth Shastri Thattee

Bhaskar Shastri Abhyankar

Rama Shastri Godabole

Mahamahopadhyaya Wasudeo Shastri Abhyankar of Poona.

* * * * *

The "Maratha Movement"—movement of ten generations or so was, essentially, a movement of *Re-construction* as Dr. Frazer rightly observes. The impulse was felt in art, in religion, in short, in all the internal and external departments of human life. Rama Shastri worked in three departments of life as (i) Teacher, (ii) Judge, and (iii) President of the Charities ; and in all these, his foot-prints are marked on the sands of time to teach and instruct those who have the desire to learn : but above all, his sterling qualities of head and heart are a beacon-light to guide the foot-steps of faltering humanity in all times and climes : May he be pleased to guide us is the prayer of

VASUDEO V. THAKUR.

Maharaja Abhaisingh of Marwar and the Nizam.

[By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityacharya.]

The letter of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Marwar submitted here, throws some interesting light on the underhand tactics to which the Nizam resorted in order to create an ill-feeling between the Peshwa and the Mughal Court as also on the diplomatic genius of Maharaja Abhaisingh.

The Nizam and the Peshwa were jealous of each other's power. The former was the foremost soldier of the time. But being defeated by the Peshwa Baji Rao I, he intrigued with Trimbak Rao Dabhade, the Maharatta Commander-in-Chief, with a view to reducing the influence of his rival. About the beginning of 1731 A.D. Baji Rao I decided to invade Gujrat. But as soon as he reached Ahmadabad in February Maharaja Abhaisingh, the new Governor of the province, so put diplomatic pressure on him as to win him completely over to the side of the Emperor.

How the Maharaja set the Peshwa against other invaders of Gujrat and how the Nizam tried to deprive the Peshwa of the imperial favours—will be known from the contents of the following letter.

Top and side lines in Maharaja's own hand-writing.

May Almighty always protect us.

That by the grace of God we have achieved victory. The helping force of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, which too was with the enemy, has also been destroyed and all have turned well. But Baji Rao has not been favoured with thanks and assurance for his help. If the Nizam himself comes here we are prepared to deal with him (in the right manner). We have written as much as was adequate and have done as much as was possible. But the news received from the Nawab would undo everything and if such is the will of God something of this sort must happen. You should tell everything to the Nawab and settle everything.....

Also arrange to remit money soon. Tell the Nawab that without money we cannot manage the affairs of the province even for a single day. Here there is no source of income, and therefore inform the Nawab and arrange to send money without fail. What more can we write in this matter? Without money every effort will be futile. We belong to the Rajput race and therefore believe that whatever the Almighty desires will happen, but the Emperor will lose the province. Tell him (Nawab) all these facts plainly, and in case he is prepared to comply with our request and gives us the required money, you should stay at the court. If not you should take his leave and come back without wasting a single moment there. It is our command.

Writings of the Royal seal.

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to the sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaising Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun and Vinayaka—may these five deities always bestow favours.

Approval of the letter in Maharaja's own Calligraphy.

It is our command.

Letter.

By command of the illustrious, sovereign ruler, king of kings, Maharaja Shri Abhay Singhji¹, and his heir-apparent Shri Ramsinghji, Bhandari Amar Singh and Purohit Vardhman should note their favours.

We have received your letter and noted its contents. Before this we addressed letters to the Nawab², which you must have delivered to him and must also have therefore discussed the points with him.

There was a fight between the armies of Trimbak Rao Dabhade³ and those of Baji Rao⁴ and ours. Trimbak Rao, Mughal Mominyar Khan, the commander of the Nizam's⁵ army, and Mula Panwar were killed; Panwar Uda, Chimmna⁶, and Pandit of the side of the Nizam and Pilu's⁷ son were captured, and we were victorious. You would have imparted these news to the Nawab.

Pilu, Kantha⁸, Anand Rao and others have fled away with their armies. Pilu fled to Dabhoi, and his (Pilu's) brother is at Baroda. We have despatched our armies to both these places, and hope to get them vacated soon. As Kantha has fled to the Nizam-ul-Mulk, you should ask the Nawab to inform the Emperor⁹, and get his orders issued to the Nizam with a strict warning, that he should comply with the commands of the Darbar (Maharaja) and should not give shelter to Kantha, Pilu and others.

The army of the Nizam too is destroyed, and if he comes again to this place to avenge himself there will be a battle with him. Therefore, you should ask the Nawab to bring all these facts to the notice of the Emperor and get his orders soon despatched.

This time Baji Rao has rendered meritorious services to the Emperor. So a robe of honour, a "Farman" and an elephant should be bestowed on him as well as on Raja Shahu¹⁰, and a robe of honour on Chimmna¹¹. Further, after explaining everything to the Nawab also arrange for the bestowal of a "Mansab" on Baji Rao. We also remind you of the important problem of our own Jagir and hope you will again discuss it with the Nawab. If he is inclined to comply with our request settle the matter with him in such a manner that our mission may be brought to a successful end.

1. Maharaja Abhaising was the ruler of Marwar and the imperial Governor of Gujrat.

2. The Nawab or Khan Dauran was the minister of Emperor Muhammad Shah.

3. Trimbak Rao Dabhade was the son of Khande Rao Debhade and succeeded him as commander-in-chief of Shahu's army in 1730 A.D. He later joined the Nizam against the Peshwa Baji Rao I.

4. Baji Rao I was the son of Balaji Rao Vishwa Nath Peshwa, whom he succeeded in 1720 A.D. and died in 1740 A.D.

5. Nizam-ul-Mulk (Asaf Jah) Chinkulieh Khan was the son of Ghazi Uddin Firoz Jang. He first served as the Governor of the Deccan, then of Malwa and afterwards raised troops and conquered the Deccan by a clever use of intrigue and money. He was for some time, the prime minister of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, but resigned the post and became a virtually independent ruler of the Deccan. He died in 1748 A.D.

6. Chimmaji Damodar was for some time the prime minister of Shambuji II of Kolhapur.

7. Pilaji Gaikwad was the founder of the present Gaikwad dynasty of Baroda and one of the two most prominent Maharatta officers in Gujrat. He was killed by Maharaja Abhaising of Marwar in 1732 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Damaji Gaikwad.

8. Kanthaji Kadam Bhande was the other most prominent Maharatta officer of Gujrat.

9. Emperor Muhammad Shah Nasiruddin ruled from 1719 to 1748 A.D.

10. Shahu, the Raja of Satara was the grand son of Shivaji and he appointed Baji Rao I as his Peshwa in 1720 A.D.

11. I think the reference here is to Chimmaji, the younger brother of Peshwa Baji Rao I and not to Chimmaji who belonged to the opposite camp.

Some time back we wrote about the case of Baji Rao, but owing to the verbal or written misrepresentations, the Nawab could not grasp the reality, and has informed the Emperor that Baji Rao, only being affraid of Trimbak Rao, has joined us in this way and therefore he could not help us in any bigger task. But the part played by the armies of the Nizam-ul-Mulk and Trimbak Rao has come to the notice of the Emperor, and if he wishes, other facts will also be brought to his (Emperor's) knowledge.

You should inform the Nawab clearly, that we have done all this fully relying on him. Yet he has neglected it in such a manner. Let us know what the Nawab wants. Even the expedition against Sarbuland Khan¹ was carried out at our own expense. As we had undertaken the task, it became our duty to finish it. We have written so much to the Nawab for sending us men and money with a view to enabling us to face the enemy. But nothing has been done uptill now. He should consider well whether this mission, the progress of which he (Nawab) has been delaying is of the Emperor or our own. These days there was a large concentration of the forces of the enemy, and both the armies arrived here. When we failed to see any provision being made by the Nawab, (to meet the situation) we apprehended that in case there was any adverse result, it was we who would be blamed for it, as no one would say that the Nawab did not do any thing in the matter. In these circumstances we tried hard to bring over Baji Rao to the side of the Emperor, and giving him every assurance dispatched him with our own forces equipped with strong artillery to punish Kantha, Pilu and others. We have thus, created a split among them and managed to crush the rising.

We thought that the Nawab would appreciate our action but instead of that he has written us to punish Baji Rao, drive him away, and give him no help whatsoever. It appears that the Nawab has written all this at the instigation of the Nizam. Is it fair that the Nawab should act on the advice of others when the task has been entrusted to us? He believes in what these sycophants write, and neglects the real facts. Only consider that though Kantha and Pilu usurped the land of Gujrat for the last eight years, he (Nawab) favours them and gives no weight to winning Baji Rao over to the side of the Emperor. Tell all these facts to the Nawab plainly and inform that we have done all this with full faith in him. But if he does not care, we are not prepared to keep this province. What advantage can one have in Gujrat these days? On the contrary though we have to bear all the expenses from the revenue of Marwar, yet he (Nawab) has neither done anything for our own jagir nor for that of Rajadhiraj².

Recently the enemy threatened us again and therefore we managed the affairs in this way. By the grace of God, we were successful. But had we depended on the Nawab, it would have been worse. He writes to the Nizam to punish Baji Rao, while we have brought him (Baji Rao), whole-heartedly to our side and sent him to punish the Nizam. (Is it not strange that inspite of all this) the Nawab has written to us in such a way? If Baji Rao is left alone, he would join Pilu and Kantha. In such circumstances how can we leave him alone? It appears that though the Nizam wants to create misunderstanding between us and the Nawab yet he has no courage to advance. Had he come forward, he would have been

¹. He was the Governor of Gujrat, but was defeated and driven out by Maharaja Abhaisingh, the newly appointed Governor of Gujrat in 1730 A.D.

². Rajadhiraj Bakhatsingh as the younger brother of the Maharaja.

punished, and further, if he thinks of advancing against us, he shall be punished. But what should we say of the Nawab on whose support we counted for completing this task.

You should now submit the case to the Emperor, and put all these facts in detail before the Nawab. If the Nawab wishes to keep us here, he should manage according to our letters. He should also note, that the present condition of Gujrat makes it imperative that he should give effect to our recommendations. Nothing has yet been done even about the Jagir of Darbar (ourselves), and if he does not like or cannot manage it he may do whatever he thinks proper. Here is the province of Gujrat and he may send any one he likes, as its Governor. Again tell him that in spite of our remaining busy here the Nawab does not do anything in the matter and wants to ruin us for nothing. He should either do the work, if he so wishes, or give us leave for personally approaching the Emperor. Tell him everything plainly, discuss this case in all its aspects, settle the matter favourably and let us know everything about the favourable or unfavourable turn of the case. This is our command.

Dated the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra (Vikram) Sambat 1787 (Shravanadi) (10th April 1731 A.D.) Camp Ahmadabad.

Early English settlement in Bengal.

[By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D.].

Early attempts to open trade in the Paradise of India.—By beginning the history of the coming of the English in Bengal from 1633, Wilson has taken no notice of the early attempts made by the English to open trade in Bengal. The early history of the commercial enterprise of the English in Bengal can be built up from the fragmentary notices in the few surviving original letters of the Company and their factors. We read of Mr. Bell's plea for opening up trade in the Bay of Bengal in his letter¹ of 18th March, 1613. He is followed by Sir T. Roe who refutes the charge of the factors of Surat that "Bengalla generally is a whott country, the moste of the inhabitants very poore gentles". "That Bengalla should bee poore I see no reason", retorted; Sir T. Roe, "it feeds this countrie with wheate and rise; it sendes sugar to all India, it hath the finest Cloth and Pintadoes, Musck, Civitt and Amber (besides) almost all raretyes from thence by trade from Pegu".² These two views persisted up to the end of the 17th century. Bengal was described as "a bell stuffed with cheap provisions; 'but really it should have been stybed a paradise of India for its plenty and prosperity. The English could not ignore to settle factories there.

The first English factory at Patna.—Hence the English Ambassador makes distinct efforts to procure a firman for the rich trade of Bengal, but the Mogal Emperor could not be persuaded to grant one, because he was rightly apprehensive that Indian seas and traffic would be interrupted by their querrels with the Portuguese³. Yet in the years 1619-21 Robert Hughes and John Parker tried to establish a factory at Patna and sent samples of silk, cloths and indigo for England and steel for Achin⁴. This first attempt to open trade with Bengal failed, as this place was too inland to have an easy access to the sea. The first volume of Surat Factory, Records has this note in the Index for Patna in 1619. "The factors are sent to Patna by Surat. On representation of Factors' encouraging continuance, Surat determines another year's trade shall be tried, and then dissolved till supplied with Factors from England. Then the Patna Records⁵ have thirty-one letters sent by Hughes and Parker in 1620.21.

P. V. D. Broacke, President of the Dutch Factory at Surat, informs the Directors in 1621 that the English had a splendid trade going on at Suhali (Swally or Surat), in Persia, and at Patna in the country of Bengal, where they had also a factory for the purchase of rough silk and fine Bengal cloth⁶. This is supported by a letter of the Surat Factors sent to the Company on 7th November 1621, "Your prohibition of Bengalia silke we have made knowne; as also of your desires of noe more then three

¹ *Court Book*, III, 69.

² *Sir R. Roe's Embassy*, 218.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 99, 152, 217, 349, 439-7, 447, 468.

⁴ *English Factories*, Vol. 1618-21, p. 116; *Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 185.

⁵ *Patna Factory Records*, Vol. I. Some of the letters have been printed in the 'English Factories Vol. 1618-21, pp. 191-200.

⁶ *Dutch Records*, Vol. IV, doc. 111.

or four thousand peeces of *amberta* cloath yearely. Whereby we have also dissolved the factories of Puttana, and will write to Mesulipatam that they proceed noe further in providing Bengala silke".⁷

Jahangir's Firman for freedom of trade.—Two years later in November 1623, the English obtained the much-desired firman from the Emperor Jahangir by showing their naval force. In order to get redress for the several wrongs they had suffered at Surat, Broach and Agra, they seized and detained several Gujerat ships. Thereupon the authorities were constrained to enter into negotiations with them.

They were promised freedom of trade in the ports of "Surat Cambaya, Gago, Sinda and Bengala as in all other citties and places within the dominions of Jangere Padshah, without prohibition of any comoditie to be brought in or exported out of the Kingdome, neither limitation confininge them either unto places, times or quantities, where, when, or how much of any merchandize, Gould or raialls they shall so bringe in, carrie away or transporte from place within or without the aforesaid dominions⁸."

The English explore Bengal by the sea route.—Such were the extensive liberties acquired by the English, and yet we have no authentic evidence to show that they began to resort to the ports of Bengal by the sea route up to 1631. Regular attempt to open trade with Bengal seems to have commenced with the voyage of the *Hopewell* despatched in July 1631 under the charge of Thomas Robinson who was sent from Masulipatam. The enterprise "fayled of its expected successee; yet proved not altogether frutelessee, having thereby laid a good beginning to a future hopeful trade⁹." The second adventure in the *Pearl* proved no better. She had been sent from Armagaon to exchange lead, quick silver, vermillion, cloth, etc., for rice, butter and picee-goods, but the enterprise failed. Yet it was held to have discovered "some places and ports which may yeald benefitt to our (imploiers in future tymes¹⁰)".

The immediate cause undertaking further adventures is to be attributed to the great scarcity of cloth and provisions in Masulipatam due to the "miserable tymes, full fraught with the calamitie or warr, pestilence, and famine ¹¹", and secondly, to the total expulsion of the Portuguese from Hughly in 1632. No less than 1,000 of the Portuguese were destroyed, 4,400 taken prisoners, and of these 500 best looking young persons were sent to Agra. The girls were distributed among the harems of the Emperor and the nobility; and the boys were circumcised and made Mussalmans¹².

The English at Cuttack.—This tragic destruction of the Portuguese encouraged Cartright and party to make an attempt for establishing English factories in 1633. They expected golden profits from this voyage. We are indebted to William Bruton, quarter-master of the ship *Hopewell* for an interesting relation of this voyage. They set sail on the 7th of April, and anchored at Harshpur on the 21st. There they had a

⁷ *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. I, p. 112.

⁸ *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 309; 1624-29, p. 27.

⁹ *Ibid*, 1630-33, pp. 182, 198, 203.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 238, 244.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 183.

¹² Charles Stewart *The History of Bengal*, p. 243. Detailed accounts are given in Elliot, VII pp. 42-43; 211; and in Abd-al-Hamid's Padshahi Namah.

scuffle with the Portuguese, but were protected by the officer of the place. Later on, they succeeded in procuring a grant from the Mogal Governor of Cuttack, Muhammad Zaman Tahrani¹³, to trade free of all duties and to build houses and ships in the province of Orissa. Their threatening attitude is well worth notice. "They told the Nabob that if his pleasure was such as to be at odds with us, there neither could would or should any vessel, great or small, that belonged to these ports, stir out of any havens. but they would take them ¹³".

A view of Hariharpur and Cuttack.—As a result of this grant, they began to trade at Hariharpur and Balasore from 1633. The town of Hariharpur which was situated close to the modern Jagatshinhapur is described by Burton as "very full of people, six or seven miles in compass, containing many marchants and plenty of all things and at least three thousand weavers that are housekeepers, besides all other that do work, being bound or hired"¹⁴.

Cuttack,¹⁵ the capital of Orissa, was found by Bruton to be a city of several miles on compass. This great entrepot of trade was defended by Fort Barabati which was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference. It was surrounded by a broad ditch faced with masonry, by double walls of stone and by square bastions.

A continued residence in these places was determined because Bengal trade offered many prospects of considerable profit after the expulsion of the Portuguese. The destruction of Hugli did not frighten the English; on the contrary they hoped to get the foreign and coastal trade of Bengal into their hands. The Mogul officers permitted the English liberty of trade in Bengal, but their ships were not allowed to enter the Hugli river, so that their shipping was restricted to the port of Piply alone¹⁶.

Prospects of Bengal trade.—The Company were informed in October 1634 that diverse provisions, cheap white cloth, exceedingly good powdered sugar at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. the English pound with all charges abroad, silk at 4 to 5 fanams the English pound, gumlac and several other things, were procurable in great quantities. There was also a certain prospect for the disposal of broad-cloth, spices, tobacco, iron, tin and sundry other goods¹⁷.

The Surat factors decided to forbear investments in many inland factories in W. India in expectation of more propitious times, especially in view of "some dependence upon Bengala, whose present plenty of such comodities promiseth some supplie¹⁸".

Shah Jahan's Firman for Bengal trade.—These prospects soon seemed to darken and the expectation of establishing factories at Hugli and Piply was actually frustrated, because the Portuguese were restored to their former privileges in 1634. However, through the efforts of the Surat factors the way to Bengal trade was definitely

¹³ See Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 8n.

¹⁴ W. Fedges—*Diary I*, pp. 175-177; *English Factories*, 1630-33, pp. 301, 305.

¹⁵ C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁷ O. C. 1519, 21st Feb. 1634.

¹⁸ *English Factories*, 1634-36, pp. 41-42. Fanam was a gold coin of Southern India. It was a variable fraction of the pagoda. At Golconda it was equal to 1/10th, at Porto Novo to 1/18th, and at Pulicat, to 1/24th. At Madras it was normally 1/36th of the pagoda. Bowrey who visited Madras between 1669 and 1688 mentions that the Madras fanam was equivalent to 3d., and the pagoda was worth about 8s. At Madras one fanam=80 cash. *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, pp. 194-196.

¹⁹ F. R. Surat, Vol. I, p. 230. Sept. 12, 1633.

opened by procuring a Firman from the Emperor Shah Jahan. According to the words of a Surat letter to the Company, it conferred liberty of trade to the English in the whole country of Bengal, but restrained their shipping only to the port of Piply¹⁹. Some writers have wrongly asserted that the grant conferred express exemption from customs and all other duties. No such provision is stated in the above-mentioned letter from Surat. That Shah Jahans Firmans of 1634 as well as of 1649 did not grant custom-free trade to the English, is clearly mentioned by Shaista Khan in his letter to the Chancellor of the Province of Bihar. The Nabob and not the Emperor granted them the right of custom-free trade in Bengal. The comparatively little value of these rights and the imperative necessity of obtaining fresh grants from local governors, were fully realized.

“The kings commands are as easily procured as other princes ; for, if there bee no powerfull opposer, they are almost as easily had as the charges are disbursed. And, when you have them, they are no more esteemed, then things so easily purchased ; whilst every man honours the Kings, but no man obeyes him. And so it comes to passe that his firmaen doth neither inforce us to Piply nor yet exclude us Harripore (Hariharpura), which latter place wee doe only frequent. Soe that it matters no much, if peace be made with the Governor, what the Kings shall please to command or forbid.”

It is clear from the foregoing extract, that only the right to trade in Bengal and settle a factory at Piply was conceded by Shah Jahan's Firman, so that the English had to withdraw from the other two places. Yet with the connivance of the local governors, they remained entrenched only in Haripur and Balasore. It appears that at the end of 1634, they had factories at Masulipatam, Armagaon, Patapoli and Viravasaram on the Coromoandel Coast, two factories, in Bengal, and two at Surat and Bantam, with subordinate factories under the superintendence of the two latter. The President of the Bantam Factory urged the necessity of appointing “discreet chiefes and seconds and not greene heads” in Bengal. Wilson is right in pointing out the mistakes of the traditional account that the English established factories at Pipli in 1634, at Hughli in 1640, and at Balasore in 1642²⁰.

Languishing trade.—Again a view of the incipient English factories in Bengal is offered by a Masulipatam letter of 1st December 1836 pointing out that “for want of good government and care the Companies business lyes bleeding and will consequently perish if it be not suddenly revived”²¹.

Even up to 1640 they are reported by the Dutch to be doing very little, because they had no capital²². Then the keen competition of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the private English merchants brought about a languishing condition in their business.

Mr. Day attempted to give an impetus to the English trade in Bengal, and then came Brookhaven's mission to settle Bengal trade on a firm basis. In 1650 we find

¹⁹ Eng. Fact. Vol. 1634-36, pp. 12, 204. Yet Wilson sees no evidence of such a grant being ever secured by the English..

²⁰ Eng. Fact. Vol. 1634-36, p. 56.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 324.

²² Dagb Register 1640-1, p. 187.

the English settled at Balasore and Hughly, and from there travelling to inland places for the disposal of their merchandise and for the purchase of the produce and manufactures of the various places.

Princes' Nishan and Dr. Boughton.—In 1650 it was thought necessary for the better carrying on of Bengal trade to secure a grant from Prince Shah Shuja through the instrumentality of Mr. Gabriel Boughton, "Chirirgion to the Prince," so that if possible, that, according to Mr. Boughton's promise, the Comany may have such a firman granted as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedome, that soe they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs"²³.

There has been much speculation and discussion regarding the first establishment of the English at Hughly and Balasore. Almost all historians have been adopting the account of Charles Stewart ²⁴ who observes that the English obtained an order to establish factories in these towns in 1640. Thomas Bowrey and Orme say practically the same thing. In fact, these are based on the account preserved in the Home Misc. Series of the I. Office ²⁵. Here in it is said that Dr. Boughton having cured the Emperor's daughter about the year 1636 and then one of the wives of Shah Shuja, was granted an exemption from customs and all other duties. After two years Captain Brookhaven by virtue of these grants paid no duties at Hughly. Two years later still, the same captain came the second time bringing Mr. Bridgeman as chief and several others to settle factories in Bengal.

Upon secured the Prince's Nishan, Mr. Bridgeman and party established factories at Balasore, Hughly, etc.

Such is the traditional account of the establishment of the Hughly factory. Colonel Yule justly concluded that this account was demonstrably wrong in several respects. For instance, the English never had a factory at Piply, and the one at Balasore owed nothing to Boughton's assistance.

However, it appears that the traditional account and the one based on the factors, correspondence, with the exception of dates can be reconciled. We know that the English were not allowed to settle factories in the inland places of Bengal by Shah Jahan in 1634, yet they continued at Balasore and Hariharpur in Orissa against the King's order through the favour of the local governors. Then Shah Jahan's second Firman of 1639 also did not confer any such right, nor granted exemption from customs. Hence from 1634 to 1649 the English had a right to trade in Bengal, but not to settle factories there. They could not take full advantage of the promising Bengal trade without inland factories. Their position in Orissa was no less precarious. They were afraid of being turned out of their factories at any time through the representations of their European rivals. They were naturally anxious to obtain an imperial sanction for their establishments in Orissa and for new settlements in Bengal. Boughton's presence at Prince Shuja's court offered a favourable opportunity. He had already secured exemption from duties for *this private trade*²⁶, had

²³ O. C. No. 2186.

²⁴ Charles Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, p. 252.

²⁵ *Home Misc.* Vol. 68, p. 27. Major Basu is absolutely wrong in asserting that in 1640 permission was granted to the English for the factory at Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 19. Wheeler too is inaccurate in asserting that English trade was made duty-free in 1640 through Dr. Boughton. "*Early Records*" p. 149.

²⁶ Sir William Foster has justly remarked that the privileges were personal to Boughton and not general to the English nation. *Eng. Factories, 1635-1641*, p. 414.

been able to obtain the same for the adventure of Brookhaven, and had attempted to extend it to the whole English nation. On the promise and invitation of Boughton alone, Brookhaven, Bridgeman and others came to Bengal with presents for the doctor ²⁷ and the Prince, and obtained a most favourable firman which really outstripped the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese or the Dutch. For a trifling present of Rs. 3,000 per year the English secured freedom of trade in Bengal without paying customs or dues. A letter of 10th January 1652 from Surat conveys the news that the English had settled a factory at Hughly in 1651 for securing large quantities of saltpetre, silk and sugar.

Second charter from the Prince.—No copy of the charter procured from the Prince through Dr. Boughton is extant, because it was lost by Paul Waldegrave. One Madras letter dated the 14th January 1652 to the Company, mentions that the Nishan granted free trade without paying custom. Yet from another document it appears that it granted only a temporary remission from "paying present customs," and not a permanent exemption from them ²⁸.

It was succeeded by another charter from the same prince given at the request of Thomas Billidge to the private English merchants in Bengal in April 1656. It granted duty-free trade in Orissa and Bengal by abolishing anchorage dues and the customs duty of 4 per cent. demanded previously at all port towns on goods exported and imported. It also provided that the English should not be molested and hindered, but encouraged in building factories in any part of the kingdom. Their goods were no more to be opened, nor were they to be forcibly bought from them at lower rates by the state officials as was formerly done²⁹.

Duty-free trade under Shaista Khan.—This first period of successful explorations and infant settlements was succeeded by a period of peaceful commercial expansion for about a generation. The Bengal factors report to London that "Bengal is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The taffaties are various and fine. The saltpetre is cheap and of the best quality. The bullion and pagodas you have sent have had an immediate and most favourable effect on the trade; the goods have been sold at great advantage. Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses"³⁰. Trading operations were busily extended by founding new factories at Patna, Dacca, Nalda, Cossimbazar, etc., and securing confirmatory patents from every new governor³¹. Nabob Meer Jumla and his successor Daud Khan reconfirmed those privileges,³¹ because English merchants were then few and their trade was small. The next Nabob Shaista Khan insisted on the payment of duties, but the English succeeded in commuting the payment by a yearly present of three thousand rupees to the Nabob. Thus the Imperial Treasury was deprived of revenue accruing from duties, and the English got an advantage over

²⁷ O. C. Nos. 1905, 2186, 2200, 2210.

²⁸ Sir William Foster has traced a curious statement from the Court-Minutes of 1674 to the effect that the grant was only for "lebertie to trade, paying custom according to the King's phirmaund, but was altered and made to pay no (noe) custom according to the King's phirmaund." O. C. Nos. 2200 and 2210.

²⁹ Both Nishans from Sultan Shuja are reproduced by W. Foster in *Eng. Fact.* Vol. 1655-1661 pp. 111, 416.

³⁰ *Hedges Diary*, Vol. III, p. 195; Bruce, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 544.

³¹ *Home Misc.* Vol. 63, p. 28. The Dutch Records, Vol. 29, doc. 745 confirm the point that by paying Rs. 3,000 p.a. for tolls, the English were exempted from paying 4 per cent. duty.

all merchants — Asiatic and European. We are told that the Nabob “was induced to connive at the English free trade for about 16 years (1660-1677)”. Notwithstanding their bribes to the successive governors, English business was hampered by the many impediments and molestations of the customs officers who, being independent of the Nabob, demanded duties from English merchants on their exports and imports as they had no Imperial Firman for duty-free trade. Once as a sequel to the Government’s quarrel with the Dutch, who were thereupon absolutely forbidden to trade in Bengal, the officers interpreted the prohibiting order to apply to all European merchants, and hence stopped the English trade too. The latter approached the governor and obtained a grant confirming all their former privileges in 1672. His successor Prince Azum Shah in September 1678 too granted them a Nishan for custom-free trade, but Shaista Khan being re-installed as Governor of Bengal in 1778-79, did not this time readily concede to the wishes of the English. A Hindu gentleman Boolchand was appointed his Dewan, because the Moslems, we are told, were, unfit for the task, “being a lazy people and given to their pleasure”. The next remark of the Madras Council is also full of comic interest. The Hindus are, it is said, “of all men most cruell, when they gett in power.” It need not be remarked that the new Diwan’s rigorous policy of collecting the king’s revenue has elicited this adverse comment. This Hindu Dewan did not permit the English duty-free trade, as they had no imperial sanction for the same. To add to their difficulties, the Nabob of Patna did not recognised the perwanas of the Bengal Nobobs, and therefore demanded duties on all their dealings.

Aurangzeb’s Firman.—In short, the so-called avaricious exactions so perplexed the Company’s affairs, that it was thought necessary to secure the imperial confirmation to their Bengal charter. An ambassador was accordingly sent in 1678, but he could only obtain a confirmation of the Surat charter whereby they were to pay 2 per cent. customs and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. pool-tax at Surat and were no more to be hindered or molested in their trade ³².

In 1680 it was received by the English at Hugly with great pomp, and a salute of three hundred guns ³³. Yet as no new privileges regarding Bengal were given, “it was thought by many not of much value.” Wilson ³⁴ has vainly attempted to interpret it in the comprehensive sense of covering the whole Mogal Empire. He has ignored that it was addressed to the “rulers of Surat”, and not to the governors of all provinces.

It was applicable only to the port of Surat, and to the goods that passed through its customs house. But what about the duty on goods landed in the Bengal or Sindh ports? Evidently the merchandise had to pay duty once. The Dewan informed them that if they would have a Perwana for paying custom at Suarat, he would not require it for the same goods imported into Bengal. The details of the grant of the Imperial Firman are found in a letter of Fort St. George. It is self-evident that no freedom from customs was granted by Aurangzab. “The English should be free of customs, etc., in all other places. And (that no writing be demanded of the English in any other place than Surat) the former, viz., (should be free of customs in all other

³² Fort St. George, F. R. Vol. 30, p. 38.

³³ Charles Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, p.309.

³⁴ Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 78.

places) the King struck out with his own hand, and added let no one hinder or molest them. The latter, viz., (that no writing should be demanded of the English in any other place) the Emperor struck that quite out and added nothing³⁵. The Bengal rulers were therefore justified in demanding custom on goods landed directly in their ports. The English also wanted immunities from the annoyingly multitudinous charges and obstacles hampering inland trade, and were anxious to have their Bengal business put on the Surat and Coromandel basis. These privileges would have given them preference over the nationals themselves and tended to transfer the trade to European hands. Hence Aurangzeb wisely and resolutely refused to grant such privileges to the English. Disappointed from the Emperor, the English attempted to secure the same privileges from the Governor of Bengal.

The Mission of Hedges.—In 1681 the Directors withdrew Bengal from the supervision of Madras, raised it to the rank of Presidency and appointed the Agent at Hughly to be Governor of all the factories in that province. Hedges has brilliantly described “the several affronts, insolences, and abuses dayly put upon us by Boolchand, our chief Customer (causing a general stop of our trade)” as insufferable. It was resolved that Hedges should go on deputation to the Nabob at Dacca for the redress of grievances. Then follow the interesting anecdotes of short skirmishes and negotiations with the local governor of Hughly, the undaunted journey of Hedges to Dacca, his interview with the Nabob and the grant of all concessions demanded. Hedges has thus summarized the success of his mission:—

“My going to Decca has in Ye first place got 7 months’ time for procuring a Phirmaund; 2ndly, taken off wholly ye pretence of 5 per cent. custome on all Treasure imported this and ye three preceeding years, besides 1½ per cent. of what (was) usually paid, at ye mint for some years past; 3rdly procured the general stop to be taken off all our trade, our Goods now passing as freely as ever they did formerly; 4thly, got a command to turn Permasuradass out of his places, and restore the money forced from us; 5thly and last, prevailed with the Nabob to undertake the procuring a Phirmaund for us from the King.”³⁶

The net gain from these concessions was estimated by Hedges to amount to £20,000 a year. It was a temporary success. The demand for customs, the stopping and seizing of goods and other high-handed proceedings did not abate. The Mogal Emperor could not persuade to grant a remission from duties in Bengal, and hence the English had to pay the usual duties.

The business of the Company was rapidly growing in Bengal. For instance, during the seven years of 1658-64 the cloths ordered from Hughly amounted to 15 thousand pieces per year, but during 1673-78 the order rose to 91 thousand pieces, per annum. It had a phenomenal rise in the four years of 1680-83 to 455 thousand pieces per annum. Raw silk was also in great demand. Repeated orders were sent to increase the investment in his article to as great an amount as could be procured. The annual orders rose from 580 bales to 1,200 bales in 1679 and to 5,740 bales during 1681-85.

There was a great rise in the Company’s demand of other commodities too. Besides, English merchants had permission to trade privately. Taking advantage of the customs-free trade, they too were busily engaged in exporting Bengal goods.

³⁵ F. R. Fort St. George, Vol. 30, p. 38.

³⁶ *Hedges Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 42-62.

It is now clear why the conflict between the English merchants and the Bengal officers was becoming more and more serious. The former by paying Rs. 3,000 alone p.a., wanted to escape from customs duties, transit dues and other charges levied from all other merchants in Bengal. Their business had been fast growing from 1655 to 1685, and the Bengal government was being deprived of its legitimate revenue. Aurangzeb had definitely refused to remit duties and dues, but the English did not desire to submit to this order. They were after trade free from all charges. This they planned to secure by force of arms.

The Company's position in Bengal in 1684.—The whole position on this point has been very judiciously summed up by the writer on the "Brief Account of the Rise and Tenor of the Company's Privileges secured up to 1684"³⁷ preserved in the Factory Records of the India Office.

"1. That Shah Shuja that first granted the English those privilege they enjoyed, had by his father the Government and all the revenues of Bengal and Orissa given him, and therefore might have given these privileges as a right to the first English, but it could last no longer than his time.

"2. That the Emperor hath never given any Phirmaund but what is directed to the Governors at Suratt.

"3. Yet notwithstanding in the time of the several Nobobs and Duans we have had the privileges continued from time till Anno 1682 with much struggling and great bribes.

"4. That the Emperor hath given his order to the Duan that he shall take $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the English according as it is pd at Suratt except we bring Rewana that Custom is pd there.

"5. That the Duan cannot dispence with the Kings order, and the said Duan that now is, is a devour Musselman that will take no present to the value of a flower.

"6. That custom hath been pd this 3 years according to Agent Hedge's agreement with the Nabob, that if a Phirmaund could not be procured in 7 months than he should pay it.

"7. That the Dutch upon all occasions excite the Governors to take custom of us, alleadging their case whom they (as they say) have as much reason to be free of custom as the English, and yet pay 4 per cent.

"8. That Mr. Vincent and after him Captain Alley paying customs and at last Mr. Davis offering to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If they might have the Nobob's perwanah wch was granted in the name of the Ld Lamly was of great prejudice to the Hon'ble Company in this affair."

Adoption of the militant policy—Reason often gives way to self-interest. These facts and arguments were not at all convincing to Hedges and his successors. They wanted a trade unfettered with any duties and charges at all "Hedges" idea of using force to wring concurrence and deference to their privileges grew into a conviction. He often expressed it in his Diary by proposing to seize the island of Sagar and build a fort thereon, as well as to detain, seize and plunder the Mogull ships.³⁸ They Company were hesitating at first, but being constantly presed from Bengal and Surat,

³⁷ *Fort St. George T. R.* Vol. 30. pp. 35-40.

³⁸ *Hedges Diary*, I, 121, 133, 139.

they veered round to the view of their factors and began to make great preparations for a war in India.

Thus ended the period of peaceful commerce and patient submission to the demands of every governor and state official. The English launched themselves into a policy of aggression for obtaining the rights of duty-free trade and freedom of inland trade which neither the nationals nor the Europeans enjoyed at that time. To effectively present the further deprivation of their privileges and immunities, they wanted to have a fortified place in Bengal like Madras or Bombay.

Mayurbhanj and the European factories at Pipli and Balasore.

[By Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc.]

"The earliest European settlements in the Gulf of Bengal were established in Orissa. It was the same with the Portuguese as with the English and the Dutch. Ascending along the western shore of the Bay of Bengal the coast of Orissa was the first to offer a landing place. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, a short time after the discovery of the sea route to India (1498) the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Madras. Alarmed at the growth of a foreign power, the natives rose against the Portuguese who escaped northwards and in 1514 founded a town in Pipli about four miles from the mouth of the Subarnarekha River, establishing their earliest settlement on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Pipli was then an important harbour on the Orissa coast and a great centre of Portuguese trade when their fleets commanded the whole sea board from Chittagang to Orissa. It was also a great slave market where the Arakanese and the Portuguese pirates sold their prisoners.¹"

Before the English had any footing in Orissa the Dutch settled in Pipli in 1625 and in Balasore in the same year². A small party of the English East India Company from Masaulipatam arrived at 'Harssapoore' or Harishpur in Cuttack on the 21st April, 1633 and Mr. Ralph Curtwright, the chief merchant, was successful in obtaining necessary privileges from the Governor of Cuttack for the trade in Orissa on the 5th of May. After a few days the factory at Harharrapoore or Hariharpur, an adjacent village to modern Jagatsinghapur in Cuttack, was built and next month the factory at 'Bullazary' or Balasore was founded by R. Curtwright.³

Before the coming of the Dutch or the English to the shores of Orissa, the Portuguese established themselves at Pipli in 1516 according to the authority of the 'Travels of Sebastien Manrique' quoted by Hunter⁴. The date of establishment of the Portuguese at Pipli has been disputed by Mr. O'Malley who put it as 1599 (*vide* Balasore District Gazetteer, P. 36 and P. 204, without the mention of any authority.) The earlier date takes us back to the period when Prataparudra Deva (1497-1541) was the independent king of Orissa. After his death Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne of Orissa and both the *Madalapanji* and *Akbarnamah* narrate how one Raghu Bhanja rebelled in the north of Orissa with the assistance of the independent Sultans of Bengal. Who was this Raghu Bhanja? From the surnames only, it seems that he belonged to the Mayurbhanj family and was the sister's son of the king of Orissa. According to the account of *Bhanja Vansamalika* of Mayurbhanj one Jagannath Bhanja married the daughter of the king of Orissa and according to the tradition of Keonjhar State king Prataparudra of Orissa got the Bhanjabhum Baripada Dandapata as the dowry. This Bhanjabhum Baripada Dandapata finds mention in the *Madalapanji* and Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has identified this with Mayurbhanj.⁵ According to this, Raghu Bhanja was the son of the sister of the son of king Prataparudra Deva and so it was natural for him to claim the throne of Orissa

1. Campos—History of the Portuguese in Bengal, Calcutta, 1919, P. 97.

2. *Ibid.* Foot note.

3. Wilson—The early annals of the English in Bengal, London, 1895, Pp. 7-21.

4. Hunter's Orissa Vol. II, P. 37.

5. J. & P. A. S. B. Vol XII, 1916, P. 48.

as a nephew in absence of any direct heir. Whatever may be the relation of Raghu the Bhanja with the independent king of Orissa it is certain that he assumed independence in north Orissa and occupied the country which extended from Midnapore in the north to Bhadrak in the south which was recognised by the Moghal Government as is found in the arrangement of 1593 A.D. made by Raja Man Singh and published in Stirling's Orissa. "The details of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Singh for the disposal and management of the above important class estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in my possession, which describe those arrangements, as the documents in question are certainly highly curious⁶. According to this account there were eleven "dependent chiefs"⁷ under Mayurbhanj among which the Zamindary of Jamkunda was one within which was situated Piply. The following extracts from the "Narrative of journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbhulpoor" written in 1766 by Tomas Molte throws some light on the supremacy of Mayurbhanj not only over Piply but Balasore also.

"The Mohur Bunge country extends from the Neelgur ('It gives name to that range of hills which extend to the west of Midnapoor'. P. 16) hills to the sea; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, since every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against rebellious princes, was rewarded by a portion of their land, under the name of a Tallook⁸."

"The first considerable avulsion from the Mohur Bunje Zemeendary was the Fouzdarry of Pipley; the next that of Ballasore; since which so many small Tallooks have been taken from it, that the Rajah has now no land to the eastward of the road* I came⁹."

"Piply was once the mart of this country, but the waters washing away great part of the town, at the same time that a dangerous bar was formed at the mouth of the river, the merchants, encouraged by Shuja Khan, then Nabob of Orissa removed to Ballasore.¹⁰"

Shah Shuja was the second son of Shah Jahan and the prince Viceroy of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from 1640 to 1657 and it is said that he granted a farman to the English in 1651-52¹¹.

It seems that the sea board portion of territory of Mayurbhanj was separated by the Moghal Governors during the reign of Shah Jahan who, though at first oppressed the Portuguese, yet granted privileges to them along with English East India Company. The reason for separating part of the territory from Mayurbhanj may be attributed to the direct control of the ports and the remonstrance on the part of the rulers of Mayurbhanj has been characterised as rebellion because they perhaps protested against the unjust annexation of portion of the territory which was a great source of income to the State. After annexation the port at Piply was named perhaps as Shahbandar.

6. Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, P. 229.

7. *Ibid*, P. 233.

8. The Asiatic Miscellany, Vol. II Calcutta 1786, P. 14.

*Molte entered Mayurbhanj after crossing the Subarnarekha from Jaleswar and came to Balasore through Basta, Garhpada following practically the route on the present Orissa Trunk road.

9. *Ibid*. P. 15.

10. *Ibid*. PP. 12-13.

11. Wilson's—The early annals of Bengal, P. 28.

No evidence on the Political relation of the princes of Mayurbhanj with European trading Companies owning factories at Pipli and Balasore is available now excepting a small Zamindary of Mayurbhanj in the Balasore town where there are some Paik families who were granted Jagir lands by the rulers of Mayurbhanj for "the watch and ward" of Balasore town. On the other hand there is definite evidence on the commercial relation with the English Company in the "Accompt of the trade at Ballasore" dated the 15th December, 1676 written by Walter Clavell from which extract are quoted below :—

"Ballasore begunn to be a noted place when the Portuguez were beaten out of Angelin (Hijili) by the Moores, about the yeare 1636, at which time the trade begun to decay at Piply, and to have a diminution in other places at these parts; and the Barr opening and the river appearing better than was imagined. The English and the Danes endeavoured to settle Factoryes here (in 1633), to be out of the troubles the Portuguez gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of Harrapore (Hariharpur), where our first Factory was settled (in 1632) was without much difficulty to be brought nither by land, and the River where our vessels usually had lain at, being stop't up, it was noe easy matter to bring the Cloth by Sea, nor soe safe to have vessels ride before that place as here in the roade of Ballasore. And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung his country lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity Tester (tassar) or Herbs is procurable, a settlement was thought the more convenient, because Gingham, Herba Taffiatyes, Herba Lungees (Lunggi, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herba goods might be made neare and brought hither, and noewhere so good Herba goods procurable. The waters of Casharry giving the most lasting dye to them, and within two days journey of this place.¹²"

Sir R. C. Temple, the Editor has not added any note suggesting identification of 'The Raja of Tillbichrumbung' or 'his country lying near Ballasore' and so an attempt has been made here to identify Tillbichrumbunge and his country.

In Clavell's 'Accompt' no such faulty construction appears elsewhere as 'And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung his country'. The exact reading of the text can't be suggested without the examination of the manuscript, but it seems that there is some mistake in deciphering the text. 'Tillbichrumbung' of this account stands for Trivikrama Bhanja who was the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A. D. It further seems that the word 'of' in the clause 'Raja of Tillbichrumbung' can't stand for Mayurbhanj and Clavell's subsequent mention of his country suggests that 'Tillbichrumbung' stands for a name of a person and not for any geographical place name. So the omission of 'Of' will make sentence clearer than the one as it stands. I have also some doubt about the correct reading of 'Tillbichrumbung his' which stands possibly for 'Tillbichrumbunges' and I like to suggest that the reading as follows :—

'*And Raja Tillbichrumbung's country.*'—Whatever may be the writing in the text of the Manuscript either of the corrections suggested above improves the meaning of the sentence to a great extent.

During the search of manuscripts and sanads in the year 1925-26 a Sanad of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was discovered by me in the possession of Mahant a Rasikananda Deva Gosvami of the village Kisorepur of the Pergannah Rahanda.

The document measures $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and is a trilingual one in which the seal and signature of the donor are inscribed in Devanagari character and the grant portion in Persian and Oriya writings which purports to the same thing.

The importance of seal and signature in such royal documents is well known without which no grant was ever considered to be of any value. In the seals of the rulers of Mayurbhanj the name of the donor finds always mention with that of his father, and this long established custom is still in vogue. The signature of the ruler in this grant as well as that of his successors upto the present day is only 'Radhakrishna' which is written in Devanagari and not the name of the ruler mentioned in the seal. The signature of 'Radhakrishna' indicates that the donor was a follower of the Vaishnavic faith and this custom was perhaps introduced in the beginning of the 17th century when Maharaja Vaidyanatha Bhanja Deva accepted the post-Chaitanya Vaishnavism preached by Rashikananda Deva Goswami of Gopiballabhpur.

The Sanad was granted in 1093 Sala and in the 32 Anka or Regnal year of the donor for the management of the temple at Kisorapur village.

Text.

(L.1) Sri Trivikrama Bhanja Deva Maharajankara 32 Anka Sana 1093 Sala.

(L.2) Kisorapura Devalayaku etc.

(Then follows the details of articles granted).

Translation.

This is granted by Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva to the temple situated at Kisorapura in the Sala 1093 and in the regnal year 32.

The mention of the Anka or regnal year in a document is very important as it furnishes the date of occupying the Gadi by a ruler and hence the discussion of the system of reckoning the Anka will be of general interest. The system of reckoning the Anka in Mayurbhanj is as follows :—

The numerical figures 1, 2 and 6 or any number associated with 6 such as 16, 26 etc. and all figures having a zero with the exception of 10, are not counted.

Sir W. W. Hunter wrote first in 1872 on the Anka system as follows :—

“ But although the Maharaja of Khurda have ceased to be an independent dynasty, they still exercise one of the most cherished prerogatives of an Eastern Royal House. The whole Orissa population date their document according to the year of the Raja's reign. They have thus an area equally distinct from the Christian, the Musalman, and the Hindu methods of reckoning the time. The first, sixth, tenth and twenty-sixth years after each accession are deemed unlucky, and never counted in the current chronology. A new Maharaja, therefore, begins in his second Anka, or year, to reign in the affections and the documents of his people.”¹³

John Beams wrote the following on this subject :

“ In reckoning the Anka the first two years and every year that has a 6 or 0 in it are omitted ; we must thus omit the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, and 30.”¹⁴

13. In his ' Orissa ' Vol. II, pp. 125-26.

14. J. A. S. of Bengal 1883 p. 234.

Mr. M. M. Chakravarty wrote as follows on the same subject :—“ The peculiarities of the Anka (regnal) years are not well known. So for the convenience of the readers they are noted here. The special characteristics are :—

- “ (1) 1 and all figures ending in zero (except 10) and 6 should be omitted.
- (2) The last Anka year of one king and the first Anka year of the succeeding king (*i.e.* 2) fall in the same year :
- (3) The year begins on the day of Suniyan Simha (Bhadrapada) Sukladvasi¹⁵.”

Thus the Mayurbhanj system virtually differs from that recorded by Hunter, Beams and Chakravarti. It is similar to Beam's system so far as the initial year, that is 3, is concerned and Chakravarti's system so far as the year 10. Hunter's system is different from that of Beams and Chakravarti and so also from that of Mayurbhanj.

According to the mode of calculation discussed above 32 Anka corresponds to 25 actual years of reign.

In converting the Sala era into Christian era, it should be borne in mind that the Sala new years begin on the day of Suniyan which generally falls in the month of September and it is a lunar year. The date of Suniyan varies every year according to that of the Christian year. So it is very difficult to find out the exact date and month of the Christian year corresponding to the Oriya Sala year. But so far the year is concerned only 592-93 is to be added to the sala year to find out the Christian era and thus Sala 1093 correspond to 1685-86 A.D. From this date if 25 years of actual reign of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja is deducted, it gives the year of this accession to the throne in 1660-61 A.D. According to Khan-i-Duran's account Maharaja Krishna Bhanja* died in November 1660 A. D. and so there is no doubt Trivikrama Bhanja Deva was the successor of Krishna Bhanja.

From the Sanads granted by Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva who occupied the Gadi of Mayurbhanj in 1688 A.D., it appears that Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja written as “ Trillbichrumbung ” ruled Mayurbhanj from 1660-1688 A.D. Thus it appears that the contemporary Oriya records help us in indentifying unintelligible names found in the English records.

II.

W. Clavell testifies to the importance of Tassar textiles of Mayurbhanj by saying that “ Noe where so good Herba goods procurable ”. Even now the Tassar Textiles of Mayurbhanj have not lost its old position like the cotton textiles of Hariharapur, Muktapur and Mahanpur lying to the south of Balasore. Award of gold medals by the judges of various exhibitions in India on the Tassar Textiles from Olmara and Rahalda of Mayurbhanj proves that the ancient tradition is still surviving there.

W. Clavell writes elsewhere, “ Could the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodities be once removed, and the fear of the want of Phyrmaund (farman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, Harrapore, and Mohumpare to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places, and to Danton or Jellasure (? for) Oremara and Cashary goods.”

15. J. A. S. B. 1903 P. 100.

* See Proceedings of I. H. R. C. 1938.

The Editor has indentified " Mucktapore " in Midnapore " Harrapore " in Cuttack and " Mahumpore " in Midnapore. I think, all these places lay to the south of the Soro in Orissa. The location of these places from the description appears that all of them were situated in a compact geographical area and not so widely separated. ' Danton ' is modern Dantun in the Midnapore District of Bengal and ' Jellasure ' is modern Jaleswar in the Balasore district of Orissa. On ' Oremara ' Sir Richard Temple writes in the foot note that " Oremara may represent Ulmara in Midnapore district, or Urmullah in Balasore district. ' Oremara ' stands for modern Ulmara an isolated Pergannah belonging to Mayurbhanj State which is surrounded by British districts of Midnapore and Balasore and is still famous for Tassar textiles. ' Cashary ' is the modern Kasiari* in Midnapore. From Rennell's map of Bengal No. 7 it is found that there were good communication from Balasore to Mayurbhanj ; One road from Balasore passed through ' Harrapore ' or Hariharpur the then capital of Mayurbhanj and was extended in the north-westerly direction towards Bihar. Again two roads are found from ' Foolerra Gaut ' (Fuladi Ghat) near Balasore to ' Rauegaut ' (Rajghat where there is a ferry on the Orissa Trunk Road through Mayurbhanj). From Rajghat another road was extended in a northerly direction to " Cassaree (Kasiari in Midnapore) through ' Roybunnea (Raibania in Balasore) on the Mayurbhanj border and ' Woulmara ' (Olmara) on the right bank of the Subarnarekha. It is possible therefore that the communication for trade and commerce was good in the 17th century in Mayurbhanj and thus helped the transactions at the port of Balasore. Yuan Chwang mentioned the sea ports of *Tan-mo-loih-ti* (Tamralipti) and *Che-li-to-lo* on the the Orissa Coast in the 7th century A. D. The location of Tamralipti is the modern Tamluk in Midnapore but no exact site of *Che-lito-lo* has yet been identified excepting this that the port was somewhere on the mouth of the Mahanadi in the Cuttack district. The records of the East India Company prove that Hariharpur on the Mahanadi in Cuttack was a famous trade centre in the 17th century. In De Barros' map (Circa 1550 A. D.) " Pipilipatam " only find mention¹⁶ in Orissa. In Gastaldi's¹⁷ map drawn in 1561 in ' Regno De Orissa ' places called ' Orissa ', ' Ramena ', ' Ingeli ', ' Picolda ' and ' Popoloom ' on a river find mention. Orissa may be identified with Cuttack, ' Remena ' with Remuna situated about 6 miles west of Balasore, ' Ingeli ' with Hijili in Midnapore and ' Popoloom ' with Pipli on the Subarnarekha. I could not suggest any identification on ' Picolda '. In Bleav's map¹⁸(Amsterdam 1650) ' Orixia ' and ' Pipilipatam ' find mention in Orissa. ' Orixia ' may be taken as Cuttack and ' Piplipatam ' as Pipli or Pipili which is written according to Oriya pronounciation. Out of places such as ' Manicapatam ', ' Calecota ', ' Caregorae ', ' Polarin ' and ' Conterpatam ' shown in this map on the sea coast of ' Orixia ', only Manik Patna and Kallikota on the Chelka lake could be identified now and other places are very difficult to identify. All these three maps drawn before 1650 show only one river called Ganga in Orissa. The map of Matheus Van den Broucke (1660)¹⁹ shows the places in Orissa such as ' Sjangernaat ' (modern Jagannath or Puri), ' Cottack ' (Cuttack) ' Harriapoer ' (Hariharpur in Cuttack), ' Badreck ' (Bhadrak) ' Bellasoor ' (Balasore) ' Rammoina ' (Remuna in Balasore),

*According to Man Singh's arrangement Kasiari was situated in Mayurbhanj because it was included under the Zamindar of Kiarchand a feudatory of Mayurbhanj.

16. Portuguese in India—frontispiece map.

17. J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. IV. P. 292.

18. J. A. S. B. 1873, P. 242-43.

19. Modern Review April, 1935, P. 494.

' Narsengpoer ' (Narsinghpur or modern Kanpur on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj), ' Pipeli ' (Pipli), ' Jallassoor ' (Jaleswar). ' Danthun ' (Dantun), ' Casseiri', (Kasiari). Matthous Vanden Broucke was the head of the Dutch merchants in India from 1658 to 1664 and so this map is almost contemporary to the ' Accompt ' of Trade at Ballasore written by W. Clavell. Renell's map published in 1779 showing the places in Mayurbhanj and north Balasore is the most accurate one in comparison with others mentioned above. In this connection the ' Chart of the River Hooghly, Bengal, drawn by Tomas Bowrey in Fort St. George in 1687 ' may be mentioned which shows ' Ballasore ' and ' Pipelly'.²⁰

20. Countries Round the Bay of Bengal 1669-79, Hakluyt Series II, Vol. XII.

“ Steam ” Johnston

[By Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.)]

James Henry Johnston¹ was a fairly well known person in his days. Lord William Bentinck thought highly of him. He used to dine with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and had the distinction of owning a nickname.² After his death his friends and admirers provided a memorial tablet in St. Stephen's Church at Kidderpore,³ and the *Dictionary of National Biography* placed him on the roll of the immortals by awarding him half a page.⁴ “ Steam ” Johnston did more than any of his contemporaries to popularise steam navigation in India. But fame played him false and his is a name quite unknown or slightly known today.

Born in 1787, J. H. Johnston entered the Royal Navy in 1803 and had the proud privilege of participating in the famous naval battle of Trafalgar. Placed on half pay in 1815, Johnston had to leave home in search of a career elsewhere. He repaired to India in 1817 and through the influence of his friends obtained command of the *Prince Blucher*.⁵ In 1821 he tried in vain to found a sailor's home at Calcutta but the patronage of the Marquis of Hastings secured him two lucrative appointments in quick succession. He could not assume the duties of either, for urgent business demanded his presence at home, and there he had to go without the least delay.

When Johnston reached London a scheme for floating a General Steam Navigation Company was already in the air. A public meeting had been called at the instance of Mr. Joliffe and Johnston was nominated on the committee appointed in that connection.⁶ He threw himself heart and soul into the scheme and his investigations convinced him of the practicability of effecting steam communication between Great Britain and her Indian territories by the Mediterranean, though the Suez was still an isthmus. In a pamphlet he worked out the details of his plan and expressed the hope of completing the double voyage from England to India and back in one hundred and twenty days. The scheme, however did not make much headway and failing to convince the business men of England Johnston came once more to India to enlist the financial support of the European merchants of Calcutta. He received but a poor response and the necessary capital could not be raised.

Though Johnston had failed in his principal mission his troubles did not go altogether unrewarded. He succeeded in creating a public interest in his favourite subject and the citizens of Calcutta decided at a public meeting held at the Town

Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay in a letter to Wilson of Calcutta calls him Johnson (*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part I, page 131). In the memorial tablet at Kidderpore also he is called Johnson (*op. cit.* p. 141) but in the official papers he is invariably called Johnston and he subscribes himself as such in his official correspondence.

¹ *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. II, pp. 24-26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ Vol. XXX, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ G. A. Prinsep—*An Account of Steam vessels and of Proceedings connected with Steam Navigation in British India*. Calcutta, 1830, pp. 5-6.

Hall on the 5th November 1823, to raise by subscription a sum of one lakh of Rupees to reward the first successful double voyage by steam completed within 140 days either by the Cape or the Suez route, provided it was effected by the 31st of December 1826.⁷ A single journey either way completed within 70 days before the expiry of the stipulated date would entitle the successful captain to half the sum. Eventually the expected sum could not be collected, and only Rs. 69,903-12-5 were raised. But the lure of the prize had caught three persons Taylor, Maudeslay and Gordon, and a boat was already under construction when Johnston reached London. He readily joined the venture and as Taylor finally withdrew from it the business was once more confined to three partners.

The new boat launched from the dockyard of Messrs. Gordon and Co. in February, 1825, was christened the *Enterprise*, and Johnston set out on his quest from Falmouth on the 16th August to reach Diamond Harbour on the 8th December, 113 days later.⁸ From the very first it was evident that the *Enterprise* could not possibly qualify for the prize. Johnston, contrary to his previous plans, had been persuaded to follow the Cape route and the coal supply was particularly unsatisfactory. The *Enterprise* did not steam all the way from England to India, for, the Captain had recourse to canvas whenever he was unable to feed his engines for lack of fuel. The *Enterprise* was not the first steam boat in India. As early as 1819 a toy steamer had been built for the Nawab of Oudh with an imported engine, and in 1823 the *Diana* plied in the Ganges as a passenger boat to the great wonder of the country people.⁹ But the importance of Johnston's achievements should not be minimised on that account. He had demonstrated to the satisfaction of every body concerned that steam communication could be established between England and India even by the longer routes, and from 1825 commences his real career in India.

As a commercial proposition the prospects of the *Enterprise* were far from bright. It was evident that as a passenger boat she could not expect to pay her way, but luckily for the owners the Government of India had realised the utility of steam boats in their war with Burma. The *Diana*, though a commercial failure, had rendered an excellent account of herself as a transport and messenger ship. The achievements of Captain Johnston had early attracted the notice of Lord Amherst's Government. Seven days after his arrival at Diamond Harbour he received from the Government a letter of warm congratulations in which it was unambiguously stated that the Government expected "the most beneficial consequences to the state and to the commercial world from the active prosecution of the new system of navigation which you have introduced into these distant seas".¹⁰ The reference to the benefits that the state might derive from the exertions of Captain Johnston was not without a special significance. On the 12th December, or only 4 days after the arrival of the *Enterprise*, the Governor General in Council had resolved that "Adverting to the great advantage to the public service to be derived from the employment of a steam vessel during the present war with Ava the Governor General in Council is of opinion

⁷ Prinsep, *op. cit.* p. 6.

⁸ Prinsep, *op. cit.* pp. 7-9.

⁹ Prinsep, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4, W. H. Carey, *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, pp. 18-19. Messrs. H. O. and A. Robinson are obviously wrong when they assert (*Account of some Recent Improvements in the System of Navigating the Ganges by Iron Steam Vessels*, London, 1848, p. 22) that "Captain Johnston brought the first steamer ever seen in India round the Cape."

¹⁰ Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 11. Johnston's reply to the above, dated Dec. 1 (Home Dept. Public Cons. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 9).

that it will be highly desirable to purchase the *Enterprise* steam vessel which has just carried from England".¹¹ The Hon'ble Mr. Harrington was not in favour of purchasing the boat outright. He suggested that the Government might hire the *Enterprise* for six months at the rate of 25,000 Sicca Rupees per mensem.¹² But Captain Johnston on behalf of the Committee for the Management of that vessel refused to let her on hire. He was prepared to sell the *Enterprise* for £40,000 or Rs. 400,000 to be paid in England.¹³ The question was naturally referred to the Marine Board and they observed that "for speed and certainty of despatch..... we cannot but feel that her services would be invaluable and deserving liberal remuneration". They calculated that the establishment charge of the ship would amount to Rs. 14,000 per mensem independently of the salary of the commander, but as much of the success must depend upon him "they recommended that the services of Captain Johnston should be retained. They also laid down that the *Enterprise* should be purchased on condition that "her services shall be rendered immediately available by the assent of the Engineers to enter into engagements to continue in their present situations for a given length of time."¹⁴

On the 18th December the Governor General expressed himself in favour of purchase and Messrs. Harrington and Bayley concurred with him.¹⁵ It is needless to add that military exigencies satisfactorily explain the expedition with which the negotiation was concluded on behalf of the Government and the *Enterprise* promptly changed hands.

¹¹ Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 8

¹² Home Dept. Public Cons. 15th Dec. 1825, No. 9.

¹³ Home Dept. Public Cons. 22nd Dec. 1825, No. 3.

¹⁴ Commander.

¹⁵ Home Dept. Public Cons. 22nd Dec. 1825, Nos. 5-7.

Comman der.

3 Officers	{ 1	150	
	2	120	
	3	100	370
2 Engineers @ 300	.. .. .	..	600
Carpenter ..	.. .. .	..	100
Six superior Sea Cunnies	.. .. .	20	120
40 Lascars ..	.. .. .	10	400
Cook—Servants, etc.	.. .. .	..	100
<hr/>			
Wages without Commander	.. .. .	..	1,690
Victuals .. ..	.. .. .	..	500
Stores and Sails ..	.. .. .	..	1,500
Coals per calculation	.. .. .	..	4,320
Interest on 400,000 Rs. @ 5 per cent.	.. .. .	..	2,000
Wear and Tear—10 per cent.	.. .. .	..	4,000
<hr/>			

(Extract from Pub. O. C. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 2).

14,610

The running expense of the *Enterprise*, however, considerably exceeded the estimate of the Marine Board. One of the three Engineers refused to serve in India and the other two demanded a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem and they had to be employed on their own terms.¹⁶ The Marine Board recommended the appointment of Captain Johnston on Rs. 1,000 per month. Besides this he used to get a sum of Rs. 180 as table money. Captain Johnston's salary and allowances were fixed at a liberal scale in view of his special knowledge, for when a year later two officers of the *Enterprise* were selected to command the newly built *Irawaddy* and the *Ganges* a salary of Rs. 400 only was sanctioned.¹⁷ Mr. Wall, Commander of the *Hoogly*, drew Rs. 160 only per mensem in 1833.¹⁸ The total establishment charge of the *Enterprise* in salary and allowance alone amounted to Rs. 4,442-2-0.¹⁹

¹⁶ Home Dept. Public Cons. 22 Dec. 1825, No. 4. The Engineers also got table money at the rate of 2 Rs. per diem.

Firstly.—They engage to bind themselves to serve on board the *Enterprise* as Engineers, doing the duties which they have done on the passage out and no other for a period of twelve months, unless prevented by sickness, to be evidenced by medical certificate, at a monthly salary of Sicca Rupees five hundred (Sa. Rs. 500) with provisions to be found them by the Government.

Secondly.—That they are to be considered as permanent officers and to be continued on their salaries if sick under medical certificate, and should it be necessary for them to be removed on shore for the benefit of their health, that lodgings or house rent, as well as a fair sum for victualling themselves, unless they are victualled at lodgings provided by Government, should be accorded them.

Thirdly.—In case of being obliged to return home at any time during the twelve months from sickness, under medical certificate, that a comfortable passage, suited to their rank of life, shall be provided for them, and a Donation of Sicca Rupees five hundred (Sa. Rs. 500) be granted them, and the same to be allowed in case Government should from whatever cause dispense with their services at any time previous to the expiration of six months from the period of their engaging.

¹⁷ Home Pub. Cons. 12th Oct. 1826, Nos. 19 & 20.

¹⁸ Home Pub. Cons. 22nd July 1833, No. 39.

¹⁹ Home Pub. Cons. 5th Jan'y. 1826, No. 2.

Estimate of Pay and Provision money required for the Commanders, Officers, and Crew of the Hon'ble Company Steam Vessel, the *Enterprise* for one Month:—

Commander at	1,000 Rupees per month	..	..	1,000
First Officer at	150 Do.	..	..	150
Second Officer at	120 Do.	..	..	120
Third Officer at	100 Do.	..	..	100
2 Engineers ..	500 Do.	..	..	1,000
1 Carpenter ..	70 Do.	..	..	70
1 Carpenter's Mate ..	60 Do.	..	..	60
6 Sea Cunnies ..	30 Do.	..	..	180
6 Stokers ..	20 Do.	..	..	120
1 Sweeper ..	20 Do.	..	..	20
1 Syrang ..	25 Do.	..	..	25
2 Tyndals ..	20 Do.	..	..	40
1 Kyssaub ..	12 Do.	..	..	12
35 Lascars ..	12 Do.	..	..	420
1 Bandurry ..	12 Do.	..	..	12
2 Topasses ..	10 Do.	..	..	20
1 Steward ..	30 Do.	..	..	30
1 Cook ..	16 Do.	..	..	16
1 Servant ..	20 Do.	..	..	20
2 Boys at 7 Rupees each ..	..	..	..	14
Table allowance for Commanders at six Rupees per day ..	..	..	..	180
To the Commander for 3 officers at 3 ..	..	..	..	270
To 2 Engineers at 2 Rupees per day ..	..	..	..	120
Provision money for six Sea Cunnies and six stokers on a sweeper at 12 annas ..	..	..	..	292-0
To Do. 47 Natives at 2-4-0 per month each ..	..	..	..	202-12
One Carpenter and one Mate at 12 annas each ..	..	..	..	45

Total Pay and Provision for one month 4,442-2

The war services of the *Enterprise* and her Captain fully justified the decision of the Governor General in Council. To quote Mr. Prinsep,²⁰ "on the occasion, having brought the news of the first cessation of hostilities, many days before Captain Snodgrass arrived with the despatches in His Majesty's ship *Champion*, although the *Champion* had sailed before the *Enterprise* even reached Rangoon, she saved the treasury above six lakhs, by preventing the transmission of stores, fresh contracts for transports and other expenses, which a delay of twenty-four hours would have incurred". Between 7th January, 1826 and 3rd February, 1828 the *Enterprise* made no less than twenty six journeys between Calcutta and different ports of the Bay of Bengal, though she was under repair from September 1826 to March 1827.²¹

Before the purchase of the *Enterprise* the Government had decided to have two more steam boats locally built with engines imported from home. It is to be noted that the new engines came from Mr. Maudeslay's workshop and the boats were built at Kidderpore by Messrs. Kyd & Co. with timber supplied from Government stores. The new boats were named the *Irawaddy* and the *Ganges* and they could be fitted with heavy guns if necessary. The *Enterprise* naturally supplied the commanders of the new steamers as officers with necessary experience could be found on her staff alone. The Government went on with their building programme and by 1828 two more boats, the *Burhampootee* and the *Hoogly* were launched at Kidderpore and Howrah. Steamers were no longer novelties to be admired, but their running expense and upkeep were still too heavy for business firms. The Government, however, had found them useful and the Commissioner of the newly annexed province of Assam requisitioned the services of one of the new boats. Probably the *Burhampootee* would have been sent to ply in the river that gave her name but Lord William Bentinck decided otherwise. He was of opinion that if steamers could successfully navigate the Ganges considerable economy in money and time could be effected in military transport. It was found that in 1825-26 boat hire alone for conveying troops came to five lakhs and seventy two thousand. His Lordship, therefore, asked Dr. H. T. Prinsep to go into the question and submit a report. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's report has been so ably summarised by Mr. G. A. Prinsep²² that I need not repeat the findings here. Mr. Prinsep came to the conclusion that if a regular steamer service could be established between Calcutta and Allahabad considerable saving could be effected in military expenses. The scheme demanded a careful survey of the courses of the Ganges and the sounding of its depth at different points. Captain Johnston had been consulted by the Governor General and had submitted a note on the subject. It was quite natural that he should be appointed to conduct the preliminary survey. With him was associated another naval officer of experience, Captain Thomas Prinsep. They left Calcutta on the 8th September 1828 on the *Hoogly*, commanded by Mr. Warden of the pilot service. The journey up was completed in 24 days but the return journey took ten days less. It took an ordinary country boat three months to cover the same distance. The result of the experiment was, therefore, exceedingly satisfactory. The *Hoogly* made a second journey²³ with less satisfactory result, but sufficient materials had already been collected and Lord William Bentinck decided to proceed with his scheme.

²⁰ *Op. Cit.* p. 11.

²¹ Prinsep, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.

²² *Op. cit.* Chapter IV.

²³ Capt. Johnston was not on board this time.

Meanwhile the Bombay Government had also been interesting themselves in steam navigation. In 1829 a steam boat, the *Hugh Lindsay*, was built in the Bombay Dockyard and the *Enterprise* was transferred to that Presidency. We need not take any notice of her subsequent career here. Suffice it to say that though his boat left Bengal the services of Captain Johnston were retained under the designation of Superintendent of the Company's Steam Vessels, because to quote a letter ²² to the Marine Board, "there existed no other officer so capable, from his experience and intelligence of promoting the successful establishment of a steam communication up the Ganges". No wonder that when the Government decided to depute one of their officers to Europe to collect such data as might further their plan of inland navigation the choice fell on Captain Johnston.

He arrived at London in April 1831 and immediately reported himself to the Directors of the East India Company. It was his intention to consult scientists and to inspect the steam vessels navigating the Continental rivers before designing a perfect model for India. It was quite natural that Johnston should consult his old friend and partner Mr. Maudeslay before any body else. Maudeslay's engines had been used by the Government of India more than once. Among others he saw Watt and Stephenson. After inspecting English steam boats he left for the Continent and travelled in France, Germany and Holland in steam-propelled vessels. It will not be possible to insert here Johnston's correspondence on the subject which cover 112 folio foolscap pages²⁵. After concluding his investigations on the Rhine, the Rhone and the Seine he recommended "the adoption of Iron Boats, not exceeding the dimensions set forth in my circular, viz. 120 ft. in length by 20 to 22 in breadth with low pressure condensing Engines and Iron Boilers, as at once the most efficient and most economical that can be employed in Indian Internal Navigation". Orders were placed with Maudeslay for a pair of iron boats after Johnston's model and on the 3rd July 1833 the Captain reported his arrival "in the chartered ship *Larkins* with two iron steam vessels and their engines. There are also embarked on board for the Government steam service five Superintending Engineers, five Engine Drivers and two Boiler makers"²⁶. Thus iron boats with iron boilers were introduced in Indian rivers.

It may be noted here that Johnston's iron boats were not designed to carry passengers or cargo. They were really tug-boats of very light draught used for towing what in those days were styled as accommodation boats in which cabins and promenade decks were provided for passengers and there were ample room for their luggage and the horses of the military officers. Private persons were booked only when accommodation was available after meeting the demands of the Government servants.

²² Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 22nd Sep. 1833, No. 4.

²³ Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 5 Feb. 1833, K.W. to No. 18.

²⁴ Home Dept. Pub. 5 July 1833, Nos. 3 and 4. g

The establishment of the boats was as follows ²⁷ :

Steam Boat.	Salary. Rs.	Accommodation Boat.	Salary. Rs.
Commander of 5 years service	300	Commander of 5 years	250
Commander of less 5 years	250	Commander less 5 years	200
Mate of five years ..	125	Mate of 5 years ..	125
Mate above 2 and under five	100	Above 2 and under 5 ..	100
Mate less 2	80	Less than 2	80
1 Syrang	20+3	Clerk	30
1 Tindal	14+2	1 Carpenter	20+2
4 Seakonies	14+1 each.	1 Tindal	14+1
10 Lascars	8+1 each.	4 Seakonies	14+1 each.
6 Stokers	16+1 each.	12 Lascars	8+1 each.
1 Carpenter	20+2	2 Topasses	10+1
1 Bunday	8+1	1 Cook	12
1 Cook	10+2	2 Bunday & Mate	8 each.
1 Topass	10+1		
1 Servant	7+1		

It is needless to say that the speed of the steamers behind which trailed the accommodation boat varied from season to season according to the strength of the current and the depth of the river.²⁸ The steamers in those days used to lie at anchor at night at a convenient place like the country boats and that partly explains their slow progress.

²⁷ Johnston's Memorandum dated 9th September 1899 Sec. Cons. 15th Jan. 1840, No. 38.

²⁸ H. O. & A. Robinson ; *op. cit.* Appendix A., p. 74.

This Statement exhibits the estimated time or average number of days occupied by a Steamer in passing from Station to Station between Allahabad and Calcutta.*

From Allahabad.	To Mirza- pore.		Benares. pore.		Ghaze- pore.		Patna or Dina- pore.		Mon- gheer.		Bhaugul- pore.		Raj- mahal.		Ber- ham- pore.		Bog- wan- golah.		Ram- pore Baulca.		Comer- callee.		Koolna in the Soon- der. bunds.		Cal- cutta.		Total.	
	Month.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
January	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	16	16
February	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	16	16
March	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	17	17
April	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	16	16
May	..	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	15	15
June	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	8	8
July	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	7	7
August	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	7	7
September	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	7	7
October	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	15	15
November	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	15	15
December	..	1	1	1	..	2	1	..	2	2	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	16	16

* The times are of course frequently greatly exceeded by casualties, etc.

This Statement exhibits the estimated time or average number of days employed by a Steamer in passing from Station to Station between Calcutta and Allahabad*.

From Calcutta.	To Comen- calce.	Baulca.	Ber- ham- pore.	Raj- mahal.	Bhou- gul- pore.	Mon- gheer.	Patna or Di- napore.	Ghaze- pore.	Benares.	Mirza- pore.	Allah- abad.	Total.
Month.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
January	6	6	..	10	11	13	16	19	20	22	24	24
February	6	6	..	10	11	13	16	19	20	21	23½	23½
March	6	6	..	10	11	13	16	19	20	21	23½	23½
April	6	6	..	10	11	13	15	18	20	22	24	24
May	5	6	..	9	10	11	14	17	18	19	21	21
June	..	..	4	6	6	9	11	14	15	16	18	18
July	..	..	4	7	8	9	11	15	17	18	21	21
August	..	..	4	8	9	10	13	16	17	19	21	21
September	..	..	5	8	9	11	14	18	20	21	23	23
October	6	7	..	9	10	12	15	18	20	22	24	24
November	7	9	..	11	12	14	17	20	21	23	25	25
December	6	8	..	10	12	13	16	19	21	23	25	25

*The times are of course frequently greatly exceeded by casualties, etc.

FORT WILLIAM, MARINE BOARD OFFICE,
The 4th February 1841.

(Sd.) J. H. JOHNSTON,
Controller of Government Steam Vessels.

On his return to Calcutta in 1833 Captain Johnston was appointed Controller of the Honourable Company's Steam Vessels with a room in the Marine Board Office. It was also decided that "he should be the channel for communicating all orders to the Commanders of Steamers and for conducting the correspondence of the Board connected with that branch of the service." He was also to maintain "a proper discipline among the Officers, Engineers and Crews of the steamers" and to prepare "detailed rules for the guidance of all the subordinates in that Department."²⁹ But the rise in rank did not mean a rise in pay though it must have added to the power and prestige of Captain Johnston. He began his career in 1825 with a salary of Rs. 1,000 and a table allowance of Rs. 180. When he retired in 1851 his emoluments amounted to Rs. 1,245 in all, of which Rs. 200 formed his personal allowance and Rs. 45, "Batta".³⁰

In 1834 two more Iron Boats arrived.³¹ By 1835 Lord William Bentinck's three successful journeys by iron boats to Allahabad, despite adverse circumstances had amply demonstrated "the practicability of interior navigation" but from a purely business point of view the Government Steam Vessels could not be regarded as a going concern. Captain Johnston, therefore, suggested a few improvements. Hitherto one pilot was employed on a monthly salary of Rs. 12 (and a boat) for every fifty miles. This was found unsatisfactory. No single man could be expected to have a thorough knowledge of so long a course and the salary was not attractive enough for really competent persons. Some thing had also to be done for keeping the river course free from trees and other obstacles. Captain Johnston submitted a scheme that would "admit of pilots being stationed at every 25 miles on salaries for four men and a boat of 16 Rs. per month". He further suggested that the Government should maintain a small but "efficient establishment of engineers of their own" so that such repairs as the iron boats might need could be undertaken by them instead of sending to "the expensive and tardy factory of Jessop and Company". This new establishment would necessarily demand much of his time and energy, and Johnston suggested that a small staff on Rs. 522 only a month should be appointed to relieve him of his ordinary routine duties. This was readily conceded and the workshop was in due course opened.³²

²⁹ Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 2nd Sep. 1833, No. 4.

³⁰ Mily. Dept. Marine Cons. 30th May 1851, Nos. 7 and 8.

³¹ Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 1st Dec. 1834, No. 1.

³² Home Dept. Pub. Progr. 20th Feb. 1835, Nos. 17 and 18.

Proposed Office Establishment—

One Head Clerk	..	..	..	..	..	300
One assistant Book Keeper and Store Keeper	..	..	..	..	..	120
One copyist	..	..	..	..	..	50
One copyist	..	..	..	..	..	30
One Duffery	..	..	..	..	..	7
Three Peons at 5/- each	..	..	..	..	..	15
						<hr/> 522
One Durwan	{ For the Workshop	..	..	..	..	7
One Durwan	{ For the Boil Office	..	..	..	..	7
Common to the two offices—One Master		..	..	..	..	5
One Bhistry	..	..	..	..	..	5
One Peon ..	..	..	..	..	..	5

In a memorandum of the 26th November 1838 Johnston explains his plan for training Engineers and engine drivers for the inland steam navigation service.³³ He had then nine Steam Vessels under his control, "all efficient for service". "A few months after my return to Calcutta", he writes, "in July 1833 from my mission to the Court of Directors, several lads of various parentage, but all borne in India had been placed as apprentice under the Superintending Engineers and Boiler Makers who had accompanied me from England". In 1834 some Engineers and Mechanics were dismissed in the interest of discipline but the apprentices were not sufficiently trained as yet to take up their jobs. In due course they proved their ability as Johnston testifies. "The native born of whatever parentage who now constitute the class of engine drivers are capable of much continued bodily exertion and exposure to heat and sun without any of the inconveniences to which the European is liable and under direction and superintendence, are fully competent to the duties of the engine room and even many of our firemen can stop and start, reverse the motion, pack, make joints, etc., etc." Thus apprentices were being trained under Johnston to replace the highly paid engineers recruited from England. The Controller of H. C. Steam Vessels himself selected the apprentices after a personal interview and preferred destitute orphans to boys in affluent circumstances. It may be incidentally noted that the list appended to his memorandum shows that all these "native born of whatever parentage", but three (two Mahomedan Engine Drivers and a Chinese Carpenter) were East Indians or, to use a modern and a more popular term, Anglo-Indians.

Of the Indian workmen employed in the workshop the great majority were Hindus, and Johnston's observations on the difficulties due to caste system are worth quoting. "It is very much to be regretted that amongst the working mechanics religion and caste are strictly observed. The smiths, vicemen, braziers and castors are almost without exception Hindoos, a circumstance which prevented there embarking on board the Steam Vessels, where a few such hands would render the engine room establishment very efficient at small cost and I regret to say that my endeavour to bring forward Mussulmans as artificers have not hitherto been attended with the degree of success I had hoped for". He highly praises the workmanship of these mechanics but they were irregular in their attendance. "Many have their families in distant parts of the country whom they visit every year about the festival of Doorgah Poojah and are absent from work for this purpose for a month, six weeks or two months". From a statement appended to the memorandum it appears that the income of these mechanics varied from 2 as. to 10 as. per diem and despite all caste prejudices and pride two high caste Brahmins Ram Mookerjee and Taccordoss Chatterjee were working as vicemen on the paltry wage of 4 and 5 as. respectively.

Here we may take leave of Johnston and his reports. He continued in service till March 1851 when ill health compelled him to retire. He was away home in 1847 and 1848 also, probably for reasons of health, for he was then an old man of sixty. He left Calcutta by the "Queen"³⁴ to die near the Cape of Good Hope.

³³ Mily. Dept. Marine Cons. 26th Dec. 1838, No. 6 & K.W.

In one of the appendices Capt. Johnston gives a schedule of Contract prices for nuts, bolts, plates and other articles that may prove useful to students of economics.

³⁴ Mily. Dept. Marine Cons. 30th May 1851, Nos. 1-2.

Captain Johnston's Office was abolished immediately after his retirement. It saved the Government about 9,000 Rupees per annum after making provision for slight increments in the pay of several officers of the Marine Board. Johnston's hopes had been fully justified and private enterprise was once more in evidence. The Ganges Steam Navigation Company appeared in the field in 1844 with improved type of steamers more like those we see in our rivers to-day and soon outdid the tug and accommodation boats in speed and economy. Johnston had done his work so well that the future of steam Navigation in India was well assured when he left and the Government no longer stood in need of a highly paid specialist to look after their steam boats.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
5	2	10	as a Muhammadan	as Muhammadan
6	1	5	Padadikkaval	Padaikkaval
6	2	9	of a varied	of varied
6	2	10	Reaching Tirupati	Recaching Tirupati
7	2	21	Dumalli	Cumalli
7	2	36	Omitting reference indication "I"	
8	1	7	Diwan	Dewan
13	4	7	Sumner	Summer
13	4	8	Johnston	Jonhston
18	4	2-3	Messrs. William Augustus Broke, John Buller and John White, Hamid Khan	Messrs. Williams, Augustus Brooke, John Buleir and John White, Hamid Khan.
18	4	4	prosecution on the part	prosecution of part
20	1	1	"1".	"3".
20	2	1	delete "2"	
21	Footnote.		Proceedings	Proceddings
22	3	14	authorities	authoities
22	4	5	Dacca	Deccan
23	4	7	at the rate	at
31	4	1	the following explanatory note : "Taken from Appendix I of Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of Carnatic, Part II (In print); Tuzuk-i- Walajahi (continued)—pp. 277—80, translated by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Head of the Deptt. of Islamic Studies in the University of Madras and Translator of Burhanuddin's work, who kindly supplied me with a copy of his translation".	"a contimporary account hitherto unpublished by one Burhanuddin"
33	Title.		Protuguese	Portuguese
33	1	7	peninsula	peninisula
33	5	1	1636	1936
34	4	5	Bambam	Bamban
34	fifth footnote.		Ammanai 11-1482—1567	Ammanai 11., 1482 1567.
35	1	4	ports	port
35	2	2	were	are
35	2	6	possible	possibble
35	2	7	Golconda	Goloconda

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
35	2	12	Tirumala	Tirumal
35	2	19—20	understanding that no toll	understanding no toll
35	3	4	interfering	interferring
35	3	8	According	Acco ding
35	third footnote.	30th /	May 1645	30th May 645
36	1	3	happened	happended
36	1	7	Sinhalese	Sinhaleese
36	2	17	drawn.	d awn
36	2	21	Hostilities	Hostility
37	1	7	innuendo	inneudo
37	1	9	' the absence of the chief citizens '	' the absence of chief citizens '
37	1	13	Pattangattis	Patangatis
37	2	2	themselves	them elves
37	2	3	' to go back to Tiruchendur '	' to go to back Tiruchen- dur '.
37	3	7	by the desecration '	' by their desecration '.
37	3	9	' the previous year '	' last year '
38	1	5	' the idols of the temple ; '	' the idoles of the temple '.
38	4	1	' collect the 30,000 '	' collect 30,000 '
38	5	4	Galle	Gale
38	6	1	remove the comma after 1650	
38	6	2	Governor	Govenor
39	1	1	some time	sometime
39	1	8	remove the word 'included' after 1658 and insert a comma after the word Portuguese.	
39	1	12	Kayts and Jaffnapatam	Kays and Jaffnapatam
39	2	6	over-ready	over ready
40	1	1	navigate	narrete
40	1	6	accidentally	accidently
40	1	9	' craft would be '	' craft will be '
41	1	1	Sivaji we	Sivaji was
42	2	9	Prabhanvali	Prabhanvalik
42	7	2—3	Bharata Itihasa Shamsodhaka Mandala	
44	2	12	भरतस्येव	मरतस्येव
45	2	1	situations	stinations
45	3	7	1666	1626
46	2	12	Sambhaji	Sambhaja
46	4	2	प्रकाशिताया	पकाशिताया
47	1	4	भरतस्येव	मरतस्येव
47	2	2	Bharat	bharat
47	4	7	leads	leads

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
48	1	6	श्रीमत्परमा	श्रीमत्परम
48	1	6	कविकुल	कविकु
48	1	7	"Full stop"	after Parmanand
48	1	7	describe.	described
48	2	3	and of the Pratinidhi	and the
49	1	4	"comma"	after the word "descended"
50	Title.		Expeditions	Expedition
50	1	2	Expeditions	Expedition
50	2	6	Ikkeri in	Ikkeri on
50	3	1	Wars.	war
50	4	4	brother-in-Law	brother-in-Law
51	1	1	Virabhadra	Viravhadra
51	2	7	Bijapur	Bihjapur
51	2	8	certain is that	certain that
59	1	1	1808	1810
60	1	2	mountaineer	mountainerer
60	1	2	(<i>parvatiya</i>)	(<i>parvatiya</i>)
60	1	5	(<i>Khābāhibhesvara</i>)	(<i>Khābāhibhesvara</i>)
62	Footnote	3	1 in	to
62	"	3	2 spelt	spelit
67	"	1	8 imagined, that "	imagined, to that
68	"	20	3 Shujah-ud-Dowla	Shujay-ul-Dowla
73	"	33	2 Council.	Ouncil
75	1	8	the following after "the Terms proposed to him....." as new para.	
			<p>"Lastly, it appears from a letter, dated at Muta Jyl 3rd March, 1765, which the Deputation had written to the Council, that the Nawab had been actually "seated" on the musnud on the morning of 3rd March, 1765. And at a Secret consultation held at Fort William on Wednesday, 6th March, 1765, the Council "agreed in consequence that Najim O Dowla be proclaimed here tomorrow (i.e., 7th March, 1765) morning in proper Form.....".</p>	
81	5	3	36 miles	46 miles
82	1	3	Edmonstone's	Endmonstone's
82	3	13	Murray's camp	Monson's camp
82	4	3	envelop them	envelop the British

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
84	2	30	Sank	Sunk
88	2	12	Ingle	Inglia
89	1	17	crash	clash
97	3	6	Suppliant	Supplicant
98	1	1	Suppliant	Supplicant
98	1	7	Suppliant	Supplicant
130	2	9	Ghilzai	Ghilzi
130	4	1	himself to the	himself the
132	6	2	addressed by	addressed to
132	Footnote	1	cruelly.	cruelly.
133	6	2	collecting men	collecting me
134	13	1	the number of footnote as "13"	"31"
134	16	2	Bamian	Bamion
135	5	1	1838	1938
135	15	1	20th	20 1 th
135	18	1	Grain	Grains
140	1	9	momentous	mementous
140	3	8	Marathas,	Marathas
141	2	9	Nagpur;	Nagpur
142	7	5	Emperor	Empero
143	4	1	<i>mushk</i>	<i>muskh</i>
143	4	2	Maulavi	Malavi
144	8	1	Hamdani	Handani
146	1	1	Bakhshi	Bakshi
147		16	46a—47a	46a-47a
147		45	else	esle
147		46	obviously a distorted	obviously distorted
147		46	events following that	events that
148		33	pp. 244	p. 244
148		36	1793—Feb	1793. Feb
149		9	1805. Col	1805 Col
149		28	Akhbar Nagpur	Akhbar, Nagpur
149		30	Sept	Spt.
150	1	2	Magistrate	Majistrate
150	1	7	Chooars	chooars
150	1	18	Chooars	Choors
150	2	3	Patkum	Pattkum
150	2	7	Altamghadar	Attamghadar
150	2	10	"comma"	after the word "district"
150	3	10	battalion	battalions

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
151	1	15	Bonai	Banai
152	3	3	Raja Joujhar	Raja Joujar
153	1	5	Bilounja	Billounja
153	1	11	of Chunar	Chunar
153	2	2	Bij aghar within brackets ()	
155	2	2	1814	1914
156	2	7	1815	1915
156	2	10	Ramtek,	Ramtak
156	3	7	Dharmaji	Dharamji
157	1	3	and fled	fled
157	2	16	chiefs	chief
158	2	2	Saiyad	Saiyed
158	2	10	or	of
159	2	5	when lo and	when to and
160	3	6	thee	three
162	2	1	Astarabad	Astrabad
163	1	5	Sijdgah	Sijdgadh
165	3	5	seizure	S ezuro
167	1	28	seized	S ized
179	Footnote	5	Pandey Jadunandan, M.A.	Babu Jadunath Pd., B.A., B.T.
180	2	5	among his sons	among sons
180	4	1	"folios 31a to 52a"	
180	Footnote (6)	1	within brackets () "1125—30/ 1712—1717"	1,125—30
180	Footnote	6	2 Kunjhwa	Kunjhwa
181	Footnote	11	2 Brahman's	Bharmans
	(b).			
181	Footnote	12	2 going	giving
181	Footnote	14	3 them. The	them the
	(c).			
182	1	8	those	these
182	1	29	chatar Dhari	Chatdhari
184	1	19	tasted	tested
184	2	4	—writer	—writer
184	Footnote	30	2—3 "(i) Dadstur.....Aurangabad"	
184	Footnote	30	within brackets	
185	2	3	"11"	"(ii)"
185	2	3	Dipnagar	Dinapur
185	2	4	Kamgar	Kagar
186	1	1	mounted my	mounted by my
186	Footnote (38)		'Near Rafiganj in the Gaya Dis- trict	Also in the Nawadah sub- division of Gaya dis- trict
187	1	6	Straggling.	Stagglng
187	Footnote (39)		Hasua.	Husna

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read.	For
192	1	1	omit 10·2" ×	
192	2	5	Khaky	Kaky
194	2	6	Mewat	Newat
195	2	12	patience	patients'
195	Footnote.		Marcus	Murcus
196	2	2—3	Governor-Generals, Members of Council, or Governors.	Governor-General's Mem- bers of Council or Generals
196	2	18	greater	grater
206	3	13	" semi-colon "	" comma " after the word " profession "
207	5	3	" comma "	after the word " examina- tion "
207	6	3—4	वृष्टि बिना पंकमहो विचिव स्थलहये तिष्ठन्ति सर्व कालम् । दानां बुमिर्माधवराजमदिरे, विप्रस्य वास्यैः खलु तमशस्त्रिणम् ॥	
207	6	6	it is	is it
208	1	6	Itihasa.	Itihas
209	4	2	" comma "	after the word " upon " after the word " con- sulted "
210	2	4	worldly	wordy
212	Footnote	3	Dabhade	Debhade
213	2	14	with	wi h
213	Footnote	2	was	as
226	1	2	Bhanja	the Bhanja
226	1	10	Curious " 6	Curious 6
226	1	13	of a journey	of journey
226	1	14	Thomas Motte	Tomas molte
226	Footnote.		Motte	Molte
227	6	2—3	Mahanta	Mahant a
228	7	8	era	area
229	6	6	Bahalda	Rahalda
230	1	3	Soro	the soro
232	Footnote.	1	1. Lord Clare etc	Lord Clare etc
232	Footnote.	5—6	2. Bengal Past and Present etc	3. Bengal Past and present etc
			3. Ibid etc	2. Ibid etc
234		1—2	purchasing	pur Chasing
		12	" much of the.....upon him ".	much of the.....upon him."
234	Footnote.	14	the statement showing the cost of establishment from "3 officers.....14,010 "	
237	1	7	" 24 "	" 42 "
242	Footnote 32.	11	Matar	Master

Addenda to the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Volume XV.

80	2	6 }	Ganesh Sambhaji.	Shambhaji Ganesh
83	3	3, 6, 14, 18 }		

PART III.

**PROCEEDING OF THE MEMBERS' MEETING OF THE INDIAN
HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.**

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Darbhanga Library Hall, Calcutta, on Thursday the 14th December 1939 at 8 a.m.

PRESENT.

1. Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., Hony. D. Litt. (*President*).
2. Dr. Sir SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN, M.A., D. Litt.
3. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., M.R.A.S.
4. Dr. GULSHAN LAL CHOPRA, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
5. Mr. B. B. CHAKRABARTI, B.A., B.L., for the Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
6. Dr. B. S. BALIGA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office.
7. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F.R.S.L., M.A. (Additional Member).
8. Dr. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt. (Oxon), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Secretary*).

(For the list of the co-opted members please see pages 7—10, Part I).

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., Hony. D. Litt., took the chair and the agenda of the meeting was then taken up at 8 a.m. and discussions continued up to 11-30 a.m. The results of the discussions on each item are noted below :—

I.—Vote of condolence on the death of the following corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

- (i) Sir Evan Cotton :
- (ii) M. Balasubramaniam Pillai ;
- (iii) Mr. T. R. Sessa Iyengar ; and
- (iv) Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth.

The Chairman observed that Sir Evan Cotton was for many years closely associated with the Indian Historical Records Commission and presided over its meetings at Calcutta, Madras, Poona and Lahore. In him the Commission has lost a valued member and Indian History has lost one of its strongest pillars. He was a living encyclopaedia of Indo-British history and had specialised in Anglo-Indian genealogy. For a number of years he edited *Bengal : Past and Present* and that journal owed its wide reputation mainly to the labours of Sir Evan Cotton.

M. Balasubramaniam Pillai succeeded his late brother M. Singaravelou Pillai, the curator of ancient Records at Pondicherry, as our member from French India. He continued his brother's work with eminent success and secured for us the will of Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry. He could not attend our last session, the one held at Poona, on account of ill health, but he had been a welcome colleague at many of our earlier meetings.

Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar of Madras was a devoted student of Indian history and used to take great interest in the work of the Commission.

Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth was the representative of the Armenian community in India. Almost every year he used to read a learned paper on the Armenians before the Commission and these have been embodied in his "History of the Armenians in India". We deeply mourn the death of these members.

The following resolution was moved from the chair and passed unanimously, all members standing in silence :—

Resolution I.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Sir Evan Cotton, M. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar and Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives messages of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

II.—Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their fifteenth session held at Poona in December 1939.

The Chairman observed that details of the action taken in respect of Resolution Nos. 3, 4 and 7 would be found from the printed conspectus. (Please see pages 11 to 13, Part III). Resolutions Nos. 1 and 6 are still under the consideration of the Government of India, and it will not be fair to press for a quick decision in the present state of emergency. As regards Resolution No. 2 the Government of Bombay have already transferred the papers to the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona. As for Resolution No. 5 it was duly communicated to the U. P. Government but so far no reply has been received from them.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad suggested that a reminder should be sent to the U. P. Government at an early date as Mr. Pannalal, one of the advisers to H. E. the Governor of the U. P., was taking a keen interest in the collection of historical materials.

The Secretary promised to send a reminder to the U. P. Government at an early date. No further resolution was passed.

III.—Method of Indexing records of the Company period in the Imperial Record Department classified as A and B.

Explanatory note.—In 1923 the Government of India decided that the indexing of pre-mutiny records on modern lines should be taken up along with the classification of records and that the scheme should be confined to A and B class records only. Both classification and indexing were taken up simultaneously in 1932 but as indexing demanded more time and labour it was kept in abeyance till classification was completed. As the classification work will be completed soon, the proposal of starting their indexing from the 1st March 1940 is now under the consideration of the Government of India. Some index slips have been prepared on the lines laid down by Mr. A. F. Scholfield, a former Keeper of Records. These are expected to meet the requirements of the Government Departments and research scholars and are placed on the table, together with the relative documents, for the perusal of the members and research scholars, whose suggestions and criticism are invited on the subject.

The Chairman observed that the specimen indexes seemed to be quite exhaustive. Place and personal names have been alphabetically arranged and cross references given for the convenience of students.

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad : The indexes may suffice for official needs but may not serve the needs of research students. I should suggest that the indexes should be prepared under the personal supervision of the Secretary.

The Chairman.—The specimen indexes are fully detailed. They are prepared by the assistants under the guidance of the Secretary who constantly revises their work.

The Chairman then read a detailed statement about the pre-Mutiny records and the time and labour likely to be needed in preparing exhaustive indexes. (Please see page 15, Part III). The pre-Mutiny records of the late Foreign and Political Department proposed to be indexed number about 5 lakhs even after leaving the C-class papers out of account. It has been assumed that each document has on the average 5 pages. Each Assistant is expected to deal with 25 manuscript pages per day and according to one scheme it will take 52 years to finish the work. If a smaller number of Assistants alone is employed the work will take a little short of a century. According to another scheme the work can be completed in 20 years, but with more men and greater speed the work can be finished in about 13 years. Our opinion has been sought for in the matter. The Government of India recognised the necessity of this work as far back as 1923. A beginning may be made with scheme III and the desirability of enlarging the scope of the scheme may be considered after the completion of this portion. The final decision rests with the Government of India ; we can only make a recommendation.

The opinion of the Commission on the subject is recorded below :—

Resolution II.—The Commission recommends (a) that in the first instance indexes of the premutiny records detailed in scheme III be prepared in the lines suggested by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and (b) that outside help be secured to expedite the work with regard to such records as may be thrown open to bonafide students of History.

IV.—Disposal of Records of the Company period classified as C.

Explanatory note.—In 1923 the Government of India decided that the pre-mutiny records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department were to be classified as A, B and C and that the A and B class papers were to be repaired, preserved and indexed and that the C class papers were to be destroyed. This proposal was considered by the Commission in its 5th session and it was decided that no company records of any class whatever should be destroyed without the approval of the Standing Local Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee also recommended in 1923 that such records as were weeded out should be handed over to learned societies or local Governments if they were willing to preserve them rather than consigning them to total destruction. In 1930 the question of disposal of 'C' class records was again considered and it was decided that the matter should be taken up when the classification work would be completed. The classification work is expected to be completed by the end of February 1940. The total number of 'C' class papers is approximately 6,00,000. Two bundles of 'C' class records are placed on the table for inspection. There are occasional demands for documents of this category from both Government Departments and research scholars. It may be stated that there is no dearth of

storage space for them in the Imperial Record Department but they have not been included in the programme of preservation, repair and indexing. The opinion of the Commission is invited on the subject.

Two bundles of C-class papers were placed on the table as samples.

The Chairman explained that what was unimportant from one point of view might be very important from another point of view. Historians are no longer satisfied with chronicles of battles and narratives of political events, but are disposed to give more emphasis to the economic aspect of history and the evolution of institutions. For this purpose C-class papers may be invaluable, and it would be unwise to destroy them.

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali informed the Commission that originally the Government of India had decided that the C-class papers should be destroyed. The Commission had entered an emphatic protest against this decision and the Government later suggested that these papers might be transferred to some public institutions in Calcutta. Now that there is no lack of space for their storage in the new Record Office in Delhi, the Khan Bahadur moved that C-class papers should be preserved in the Imperial Record Department. The opinion of the Commission is recorded below :—

Resolution III.—The Commission recommends that all C-class papers should be preserved in the Imperial Record Department in New Delhi.

V.—Preparation of a manual of the rules regulating the access of the public to record offices in India (including Indian States) and abroad.

Explanatory note.—The rules regulating access of the public to the records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department have been issued in the form of a pamphlet. Scholars working on Government of India records have sometimes to examine other archives in the provinces and Indian States and in the India Office and the Public Record Office of London in order to fill up the gaps or to supplement the information collected in the Imperial Record Department. Frequent references are made to the Imperial Record Department for copies of such rules. The utility of the pamphlet containing the rules issued by the Imperial Record Department will therefore be considerably enhanced if the rules governing researches in the archives referred to are incorporated in it as far as practicable. Members of the Commission are requested to offer their opinion on the proposal.

The Chairman.—The Government of India and the Provincial Governments have framed rules respecting the access of the public to the records in their custody. A desire was expressed at a previous meeting that these rules should be made known to the public. We may approve of the present proposal and request the Secretary to do the needful.

The Secretary agreed to bring out the proposed compilation shortly and informed the Commission that his office had already translated the rules prevailing in European countries from the "International guide to Archives" compiled by the League of Nations. The rules framed by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were printed in the proceedings of the fourteenth session of the Commission.

VI.—Suitability of the procedure of circulating in future the papers to be read at the public meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Explanatory note.—For facility of discussions the papers accepted for the public meeting of this session of the Commission were, as an experimental measure, printed in the form of a brochure in advance and distributed among the members who intimated their intention to attend the meeting. As the papers form the bulk of the published proceedings of the session, this procedure will also make it possible to issue the complete proceedings volume of the session more quickly than before. If the Commission approve of the procedure it will be continued in future.

The Chairman.—There can be no two opinions that the present Secretary has to be thanked for having helped to expedite our work by promptly enforcing the submission of papers in time, printing them rapidly at New Delhi and making them available to us in advance.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar.—I agree with the President in thanking the Secretary. Now that the papers are to be printed in extenso and to be circulated in advance, is it necessary that they should be read in the meeting? My suggestion is that the writer need not read his paper at all, he may supplement it if he likes, and if any question is asked a discussion may be held. There is no time for reading forty papers or more.

The Chairman.—There is only one objection to this. Only the ordinary, corresponding and co-opted members will be entitled to receive the papers in advance, but a section of the public also takes interest in our proceedings. I should suggest that the brochure may be sold to the interested public at a small price.

Dr. S. K. Banerji.—Papers should not be read as such, they should be open to discussion only.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri.—We are interested not only in the papers as such, but we like to hear the writer of the paper in question; we should, however, concentrate more on the discussion of the papers in hand.

Dr. T. G. P. Spear.—I do not think any body will like to take upon himself the onerous duty of selecting papers to be read. The Chairman, if he likes, may impose a time limit, say five minutes for reading the paper and five minutes for a discussion if there is a controversial point to justify it. The whole paper should not be read.

The Chairman.—The papers this year have been divided by me into distinct groups according to regions or subjects; so the principle advocated by Dr. Spear has been partly accepted. The papers need not be read, a summary alone will do and there will be ample time for discussion if the number of papers is limited to twenty-five as was decided on a previous occasion.

Dr. R. K. Mukherji.—Considering the amount of research work that is now being done at so many centres of learning it will not be right for the Commission to be guided by any kind of artificial and arbitrary number limit.

Prof. D. V. Poddar.—No paper should be accepted unless it is based on new records. In that case many papers will be automatically eliminated.

Mr. M. M. Stuart.—Papers may be divided into two groups. Papers of a purely historical interest may be printed as a separate volume at the cost of the authors.

Papers likely to be of practical use to the Commission from the point of view of archives-keeping may be selected by the President on the advice of the Secretary and read and discussed in full. In short, the Commission should be useful for the records and not the records for the Commission.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.—Instead of limiting the number of papers we should define their scope. Papers dealing with new records alone should ordinarily find place here.

The Chairman.—We cannot leave out new interpretations of records. I may state for your information that very recently the local Records Sub-Committee at Delhi has appointed a selection Committee with Dr. Spear and the Secretary as members for scrutinising the papers submitted for the open session of the Commission. There is a selection Committee.

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali.—The local Records Sub-Committee is in that case usurping the function of the Commission.

The Chairman.—The question is this. How are we to limit the number of papers? First of all there should be a selection Committee to see that the rules of the Commission, viz., that the papers to be read here must deal with records and that no paper should take more than 15 minutes to read, should be strictly enforced. I think that the majority are in favour of accepting papers that deal with new records or interpret old records in such a way as to be helpful to history. The papers should not be of inordinate length and should not take more than ten minutes to read in full, if they are to be followed by a discussion.

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali then moved that a selection Committee with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary as members should be appointed.

Dr. R. K. Mukherji moved as an amendment that Dr. T. G. P. Spear should also be associated with the Selection Committee.

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali was unable to accept the amendment.

The amendment was then put to vote and declared lost.

The original motion was next put to vote and carried.

As the result of the discussions on this subject the following resolutions were passed:—

Resolution IV.—The Commission recommends that papers to be read at its public meeting be printed in advance.

Resolution V.—It was further resolved that a Selection Committee with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary as members be appointed for the scrutiny of the papers received.

VII.—Date and Place of the next session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Explanatory note.—In the absence of details necessary for calculation of the amount of travelling allowance to be spent in connection with the next session of the Commission the Secretary has proposed a sum of Rs. 2,500 on the analogy of the grant for the current year. In view of the prevailing financial stringency it will

be difficult to obtain additional sum to supplement the grant, if the actual expenditure exceeds that amount. These facts may be taken into consideration in selecting the place for the next meeting.

2. The budget proposals for a financial year are sent to the Government of India in the month of October of the preceding year. As the place of the meeting of the Commission in the year following is not known at that time no accurate estimate can be made of the actual expenditure with the result that grants and the actual expenditure relating to the Commission always differed in the past. The position had to be regularised by re-appropriation. This anomaly may be avoided by selecting the place of the meeting sufficiently in advance of the date of the submission of the budget proposal so that the Government could be moved in time for grants calculated on the basis of the actual requirements. The adoption of the procedure will necessitate at this stage the selection of the venue for the meeting of the Commission to be held in 1941 as well.

• On the question of fixing dates for the future meetings, the general feeling among the members was that ordinarily the Indian Historical Records Commission should not hold its meeting before the 19th of December in any year.

After detailed discussion it was decided that the venue of the next meeting should be some Indian State, and failing an Indian State, New Delhi. The selection is to be made by the President of the Commission.

VIII.—Desirability of requesting the Government of India to move the Crown Representative to issue a circular letter to the Indian States indicating in detail the procedure to be adopted in inviting the Commission.

Explanatory note.—The Indian States possess records of great historical value. When properly examined they are likely to fill up many gaps in Indian History. It is one of the objects of the Commission to bring such records to light. So far the Commission held only one of its sixteen meetings in an Indian State, i.e., at Gwalior in December, 1929. The time has come when an attempt should be made to ensure closer association of investigators of Indian States with those of British India. Informal enquiries were made of the Secretary in the past about the procedure for inviting the Commission to hold its meetings in Indian States and a circular letter from the Crown Representative on the subject to the Durbars seems desirable.

Resolution VI.—The Commission is of opinion that it is desirable to enlighten the Indian States about the procedure to be adopted in inviting the Commission and requests the Government of India to move H. E. the Crown Representative to issue a circular letter on the subject in suitable official language to the States.

IX.—Resolutions by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

(1) That the records of the Government of India and all Government records in the country, provincial and other, be made available to the public for research work, under such rules and restrictions as may be absolutely necessary, say up to 1919.

(2) It is time that the information in the Mackenzie Manuscripts should be made available to those engaged in research work in some convenient form or other

Note by Secretary.—(1) The question of affording facilities to the student of history was discussed in the past and several resolutions on the subject were adopted by the Indian Historical Records Commission. The question of throwing open the records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department from the earliest time down to 1859 has again been taken up and is under the consideration of the Government of India. Those of the subsequent period are treated as current records and applications for access to them are considered individually on their merits. Everywhere the Government reserve to themselves the right of restricting access to current records.

(2) The question of the preservation of the Mackenzie collection of manuscripts was brought before the Indian Historical Records Commission at their Gwalior session in 1929. In 1937 the Commission recommended to the Government of Madras that arrangements might be made by them for the issue of publications from the Mackenzie Manuscripts. An informal enquiry has been made from the Curator of the Madras Records Office about the action, if any, taken in this respect by the Provincial Government. The reply of the Curator is being awaited.

In view of the announcement made by the Secretary in the open session of the Commission, Dr. Aiyangar did not move the first resolution standing in his name. He moved the second resolution regarding the Mackenzie manuscripts.

The Secretary read the following letter received from the Curator, Madras Record Office dated the 28th November 1939.

* * * * *

“I write to inform you that this Government, after careful consideration, came to the conclusion that the suggestion to issue publications from the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Dutch records in the form of calendars was not practicable. The publication of selected manuscripts from the Mackenzie manuscripts is being done by the Madras University and a Supplementary Catalogue of the Dutch records in this office has since been issued.”

The Chairman observed.—The publication of the Mackenzie Manuscripts is beyond our purview. The Madras University is doing it.

No resolution was passed on this subject, which was dropped.

X.—Resolutions by Dr. Balkrishna.

(1) Resolved that the Crown Representative be requested to issue an appeal to all the rulers of Indian States for taking early steps for (a) preserving, cataloguing and indexing of records in each State, and (b) making these available to genuine students of history:

(2) Resolved that the Government of India be requested to adopt a ten year plan for securing typescript or microfilmed copies of the records relating to India which are available in the India Office, Holland, France and Portugal.

(3) Resolved that the Indian Historical Records Commission should take the lead in collaborating the activities of the various historical associations existing in this country. The Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress, the Indian Historical Association, the Oriental Conference, etc., be requested to hold their sessions at one place successively in one week.

Note by Dr. Balkrishna.—(1) Excepting a few big states, others have not as yet got regular Record Offices. The steps mentioned in the resolution ought to be taken for facilitating research.

(2) For writing the history of Modern India European Records are of utmost importance.

The present practice of sending scholars to England for research in the India Office, can bring to light only some extracts from the English records. European records have remained sealed books uptil now. Indian scholars should have the copies of the European and English records available in India.

The scheme is not impracticable from the financial point of view. Taking £2 as the weekly wages of a typist, it means that about £100 will have to be given to one typist in a year.

At the rate of 20 pages per day, 20×300 working days = 6,000 pages or 20 vols. of records can be typed by one typist. 50 typists will copy out $50 \times 20 \times 1,000$ vols. The expenses on 50 typists will be—

	£
Pay	5,000
Paper, Ribbons, etc. .. .	300
50 Typewriters .. .	1,500
	<hr/>
	6,800 or about
	Rs. 90,000 or <i>maximum</i>
	<i>one lakh rupees.</i>

With four lakhs of rupees p. a. we can secure 1,000 vols. of the records per year from each of the four countries. The European records relating to India will soon be copied out. The money thus saved can be diverted to the copying of English records.

Thus my ten year plan places a very light burden on the Central Government.

(3) I am glad that this year the History Congress is being held immediately after the meeting of the Records Commission.

But the Oriental Congress is holding its session* at Hyderabad. The Commission should take the lead in requesting the various organizations interested in the History and culture of India to hold their annual sessions one after the other at one place.

More scholars will attend each conference and the much needed economy in the expenses of the delegates, etc., will be effected.

Secretary's note.—(1) In resolutions VIII and III passed by the Indian Historical Records Commission at their 4th and the 5th session respectively they expressed the desirability of requesting the Indian States to supply the information about the nature, date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives and also whether they needed any expert help for the purpose of sifting, preserving and publishing the same. The resolutions were brought to the notice of the Indian States through the late Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India and the replies received from them in response have been printed in

*Since abandoned.

the proceedings of the Commission. In the resolution 3 passed at its last session the Commission recommended the calendaring of the records in the Indian States. With regard to another resolution of that session which was moved by Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bax for requesting the Khairpur State to throw open their records to research scholars it was observed by the Chairman that the Commission could not press this point on any Indian State and accordingly the resolution was dropped. The rules regulating access to the records in the archives of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have been printed as appendix E to volume XV of the proceedings of the Commission. In item V of the agenda of the current session it has been proposed to incorporate rules of the Provincial Governments and Indian States in a brochure along with the rules of the Imperial Record Department. In the circumstances explained no further action with regard to Dr. Balkrishna's proposal seems necessary for the present. It may however, be mentioned that the Indian States are co-operating with the Commission in its activities and some of them annually send their representatives to serve on the Commission as co-opted members.

(2) In view of the European War the time is inopportune for considering the proposal.

(3) There are practical difficulties in holding the meetings of the Commission in one place and concurrently with those of the History Congress and Oriental Conference but Dr. Balkrishna's suggestion will be borne in mind in selecting the place and fixing the date of future meetings of the Commission.

In the absence of Dr. Balkrishna his resolutions regarding securing of transcripts of historical records from Europe were taken into consideration. The Chairman placed before the Commission a suggestion made by the Government of Bengal which runs as follows : As the records of this province (Bengal) are only in existence here from about 1765 whether for a more proper understanding of the earlier British period of Bengal history, it would be possible for the Records of the East India Company in London to be explored by an agent and copies of letters relevant to our history taken.

After a detailed discussion in which the Chairman, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Prof. D. V. Potdar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. K. Mukherji, Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, Mr. M. M. Stuart and the Secretary took part, it was decided to refer the question to a sub-committee consisting of the following members with instructions to report to the next session of the Commission :—

The President,
 Sir Jadunath Sarkar,
 Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan,
 Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali,
 Mr. M. M. Stuart,
 Dr. G. L. Chopra,
 Dr. B. S. Baliga, and
 The Secretary.

Prof. Potdar observed that microfilmed copies will be cheaper than typescript copies.

In reply to a query from the Chair about the impending publications from the Imperial Records Department, the Secretary observed :—

I expect to send the next volume of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* to the Press by June 1940. I propose also to publish the Minutes of the Governors-General with full annotations from other sources. This work will be undertaken shortly, and I assure the Commission that it is not my intention to mutilate records.

The List of the Heads of Administration in India and in India Office in England is expected to be out very shortly.

The Chairman then moved a vote of thanks to H. E. Sir John Herbert and his Government who had taken great interest in the Commission's work and to the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Calcutta University and the Local Committee for lending the use of the University Library Hall and looking to the convenience of the members in many ways. To these he added the name of the Secretary, whose preparatory arrangements had greatly expedited the work of this session.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at the Fifteenth Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 1.</i> —Resolved that no fee for censoring should be charged and that transcripts in hand-writing without any limitation of the number of pages should be accepted if considered legible by the Keeper of the Records.	Under the consideration of the Government of India.		
<i>Resolution 2.</i> —Resolved that so far as the manuscript part of the Satara Museum is concerned, it should be kept along with the Alienation Office records, Poona.	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Museum having been closed all the collections therein including manuscripts have been transferred by the Government of Bombay to the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for the use of the Post Graduate and Research Departments in History.	

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
<p><i>Resolution 3.</i>—The Commission recommend that steps be taken for the calendaring of records in record offices in British India and the Indian States (including the Imperial Record Department) where calendaring or printing <i>in extenso</i> is not being done and the Commission further recommend that the work may be speeded up by taking the help of the local university teachers and other competent scholars and suggest that handbooks of record collections (Provincial and States) should be prepared where they do not exist.</p>	<p>Forwarded to the Provincial Governments and Indian States through the Political Department for information and such action as may be considered necessary. The consideration of these proposals with regard to the records in the Imperial Record Department has been deferred pending the completion of the work of classification and separation of the late Foreign and Political Department records and the preparation of an index to them.</p>	<p>The Government of Bombay have replied that they are taking necessary action.</p> <p>The Punjab Government consider that the calendaring of their records is unnecessary. They realise the necessity for the preparation of a hand book of their record collections but they regret that, on account of financial stringency, they cannot contemplate undertaking this work at present.</p>	<p>The classification and separation work will soon be completed and the question of the preparation of an Index to A & B class record is under the consideration of the Government of India.</p>
<p><i>Resolution 4.</i>—The Commission recommend, when financial conditions improve, the introduction of the film process for copying old documents in the custody of the Imperial Record Department and in the Provinces and the Indian States.</p>	<p>Forwarded to the Provincial Governments and the Indian States through the Political Department for information and such action as may be considered necessary. The question of introducing the system in the Imperial Record Department is under the consideration of the Government of India.</p>	<p>The Government of Bombay have replied that they are taking necessary action.</p> <p>The Punjab University have a photostat machine installed at Lahore which meets the needs of the Punjab Government.</p>	
<p><i>Resolution 5.</i>—This Commission recommend to the Government of the United Provinces the desirability of establishing a record office at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of scholars to it.</p>	<p>Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.</p>		

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
<p><i>Resolution 6.</i>—The Commission recommend to the Government of India the desirability of throwing open the records of the Public, Public Works, Legislative and Finance Departments between the years 1860 and 1898 to <i>bona fide</i> research scholars under certain conditions.</p>	Under the consideration of the Government of India.		
<p><i>Resolution 7.</i>—Resolved that recommendation be made to the Government of Bombay for the proper repair and preservation of such documents in the Peshwas' Daftar as are in a damaged condition.</p>	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Government of Bombay have replied that necessary action is being taken.	

Action taken on some of the resolutions of the fourteenth session.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
<i>Resolution 5.</i> —The Commission request the Punjab Government to reduce the prices of their historical publications to a figure within the means of our students community as has been done in the case of the Bombay Government's Marathi series of selections from the Peswas' Daftar and the volumes of the Poona Residency English correspondence.	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Governor of the Punjab has been pleased to sanction reduction in the sale price of historical publications. The original as well as the reduced sale prices are shown against each publication.	Please see "Appendix E (1)".
<i>Resolution 6.</i> —It was resolved that the Government of Bengal be requested to print the list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments which has been compiled from the materials furnished to them by the Public Works Department of that Government.	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	It has not been found possible on financial grounds to print the list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments at present.	
<i>Resolution 9.</i> —The Commission recommended to the Punjab Government to expedite the work of sorting and listing the Persian records in their possession by the provision of extra staff.	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Punjab Government regret that, on account of financial stringency no extra staff can be employed for sorting and listing the Persian records.	
<i>Resolution 10.</i> —The Commission recommended to the Government of Madras that arrangements may be made by them for the issue of publications from the Mackenzie Manuscripts and the Dutch records in their custody according to the suggestion made by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.	Forwarded to the Provincial Government for information and such action as may be considered necessary.	The Government of Madras, after careful consideration, came to the conclusion that the suggestion to issue publications from the Mackenzie manuscripts and the Dutch records in the form of Calendars was not practicable. The publication of selected manuscripts from the Mackenzie manuscripts is being done by the Madras University and a supplementary catalogue of the Dutch records in the Madras Records office has since been issued.	Please see in this connection item IX of the Proceedings of the members' meeting.

Details of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department.

No.	Description.	Period.	Number of documents.	Whether Ms. Indexes are available.	Number of documents classified as			Remarks.
					Scheme I.	Scheme II.	Scheme III.	
1	Select Committee	1762-74	31	{ Ms. Indexes available for all.	30	30	30	
2	Secret ..	1764-1859	1,40,442		1,28,089	1,28,089	64,485	
3	Secret and Separate	1773-1811	5,202	{ Printed decennial indexes available from 1830 onwards.	5,120	5,120	5,120	
4	Foreign ..	1783-1842	16,784		16,428	16,428	16,428	
5	Political ..	1790-1859	3,80,478		3,18,061	3,18,061	1,01,406	
6	Sec. Dept. of Inspection ..	1770-87	317		308	308	308	
	Total		5,43,254		4,68,036	4,68,036	1,87,637*	*Represent figures for A & B papers up to 1839.
7	Public ..	1761-57	2,14,166	Documents for 1761-1800 press-listed. Annual Ms. Indexes available.	85,299	85,299	60,299	Do. from 1801-58
8	Public G. G.'s Proceedings	1837-55	4,175	{ No Index ..	2,128	..	..
9	Judicial ..	1834-57	19,316		7,178	..	..
10	Judicial G. G.'s Proceedings	1831-51	4,672		915	..	..
					784	..	..
11	Education ..	1857	490	{ No Index ..	194	..	..
12	Medical ..	1845-57	29,623		1,685	..	..
13	Land Revenue ..	1850-59	5,947		2,664	2,664	2,664	
14	Ecclesiastical ..	1815-59	11,569		9,250	..	..
15	Railways ..	1850-59	16,772	{ No Index ..	24,007	..	..
16	Emigration ..	1835-59	107		..	..	..
17	Post Office ..	1855-59	1,033		..	..	..
18	P. W. and Elec. Telegraphs	1850-59	52,443		..	..	..
19	Military ..	1786-1859	2,91,498	{ No Index ..	1,59,366	..	..
20	Up-Country ..	1837-59	35,000		..	..	..
21	Marine ..	1838-59	9,994		..	..	..
22	Estate Papers ..	1826-59	50,000		50,000	50,000	50,000	
23	Quarter Master General ..	1841-59	54,701	{ No Index ..	29,962	29,962	29,962	
24	Finance ..	1790-1859	95,000		60,000	..	..
25	Legislative ..	1777-1854	29,000		15,000	..	..
	Total		14,08,760		9,16,268	6,35,761	3,30,562	
Number of pages to be indexed			(on the basis of 5 pages each document).					
8 Assistants.			45,81,340			31,78,805		
8 Assistants and 8 Research Scholars.			101.80 yrs.			70.64 yrs.		
8 Assistants and 16 Research ..			50.90 "			35.32 "		
			33.63 "			23.54 "		

APPENDIX A.

SUMMARIES OF THE REPORTS OF RESEARCH WORK DONE BY THE CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION DURING THE PERIOD 1ST APRIL 1938 TO 31ST MARCH 1939.

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., London.

Edited and published through the Hakluyt Society, a volume entitled "The Voyage of Nicholas Downton to the East Indies, 1614-15 as recorded in contemporary narratives and letters".

2. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., London.

Published the following books :—

- (1) India, A short cultural History. (Cresset Historical Series, edited by Prof. C. G. Seligman, F. R. S., Cresset, Press, pp. 452).
- (2) A Concise History of the Indian people. (Oxford University Press, pp. 423).
- (3) A History of the 8th K. G. V. O. Light Cavalry (in the press).

3. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph. D., Vizianagram.

Contributed the following articles to the conferences noted against their titles :—

1. Badapa and Tala, two Eastern Chālukyan Kings (Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad in December 1939).
2. Some aspects of Andhra Buddhist art (Indian History Congress to be held at Calcutta in December 1939).

Delivered two lectures at the invitation of the University of Madras under the S'nkara-Pārvata endowment on, "Buddhism in Andhradeśa".

4. Rao Sahib G. S. Srinivasachari, M. A., Annamalai Nagar.

Revised his work "History of Gingee and Its Rulers (To be published as No. 2 of the Annamalai University Historical Series).

Completed his serial "The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai", bringing it from July 1758 to January 1761 (published in two numbers of the Journal of the Indian History, Vol. XVIII, August and December 1938).

Contributed the following papers to the Journals and Commemoration Volumes noted against their titles :—

- (1) A History of the city of Madras to the present day (Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume).
- (2) Mayoralty of Madras (Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume).
- (3) Notes on the History of the Carnatic from the accession of Nawab Anwar-ud-din to the death of Nasir Jang in 1750 (Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, volume V, No. 1).
- (4) Muslim Adventurers in the Kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura (Sir Denison Ross Commemoration Volume prepared by the "New Indian Antiquary", Poona).

(5) A Maratha Service to the Tamil country (Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai Commemoration Volume).

(6) Village organization in South India at the advent of British Rule (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume of the "Indian Historical Quarterly", Calcutta).

Contributed the following papers to the Conferences noted against their titles :—

(1) Parties and Policies under Dyarchy in Madras (First Indian Political Science Conference, Benares, 1938).—

(2) Nasir Jang in the Carnatic (Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938).

Edited the "Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume".

5. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Rajabahadur, M.R.A.S., Puratatwavisarad, Vidyavachaspati, Tekkali.

Contributed the following articles to the journals noted against their titles :—

1. The Inscription of Padmanabha Deb Tekkali (Journal of Bombay Historical Research Society, March 1939, Vol. V, No. 1).

2. Oriya travellers in Tibet (Sahakar, Cuttack).

3. The circular issued by Maharaja Mukunda Deb of Orissa (Orissa Academy, Cuttack).

4. Tekkali copper plate grant of Maharaja Indravarma, son of Danarnava (The Karnataka Historical Research Society).

5. Upplobada copperplate grant (Sahakar Cuttack).

6. Copper plate of Madhusūdan Chattra (Andhra Historical Research Society).

7. Rock inscription of Durghasee (Bhanj Pradip).

8. Sword inscription of Gajapati Naranyana Deb (Andhra Historical Research Society).

9. History of the Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga (Bombay Historical Research Society).

6. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), D. Phil. (Giessen), Ahmedabad.

Published the following work :—

(1) Mediæval Jainism (Publishers : Karnatak Publishing House).

Contributed the following papers to the journals or publications as noted against their titles :—

(1) The Sthānikas and their Historical Importance. (Journal, Bombay University).

(2) Tutelage of Mahārāṣṭra under Karnāṭaka (Proceedings of the I. H. R. C volume XV).

(3) Identification of a Mohenjo-Daro Figure (New Review, Calcutta).

(4) Date of Kathākośa (Jain Antiquary, Aliganj).

(5) Authenticity of the Mudhol Firmans (New Indian Antiquary, Poona).

(6) A New Persian Embassy to Vijayanagara. (New Indian Antiquary, Poona).

(7) Reminiscences of Maukhāri Rule in Karnāṭaka (Dr. F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume).

(8) Did Tuluva Revolt after the Battle of Rāksasa Tungadi? (Sir Denison Commemoration Volume).

(9) The value of Kannāḍa Sources of Maratha, Bijapur, and Mughal History (Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai Commemoration Volume).

(10) Kathiawar and Karnāṭaka in the Twelfth Century A. D. (Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume).

(11) A Note on Cauthai—its meaning and Legality (New Indian Antiquary).

Has heard of a collection of documents in the possession of a person in or around Dharwar. Making endeavours to bring them to light.

7. Hakim Habibur Rahman, Dacca.

Is engaged in preparing a list of Persian and Arabic Inscriptions on stones in the Dacca Museum.

8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., Dacca.

(a) Published the following book :—

Suvarṇadvīpa, vol. II, Part II.

(b) Contributed the following articles to the journals or publications as noted against their titles :—

(1) The Śāilodbhava Dynesty (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. X).

(2) Outline of the History of Kalinga (Dacca University Studies, Vol. II).

(3) Outline of the History of the Bhanja Kings (Dacca University Studies, Volume III).

(4) Three copper-plate grants from Kalinga (three separate articles, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII).

(5) Epoch of the Ganga Era (Indian Culture, Vol. IV).

(6) Three copper-plate grants of the Bhanja Kings. (To be published in Ep. India).

9. D. N. Banerji, M.A., Dacca.

Has the following work in the press :

(1) " Early Administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal, Volume I, 1765-74 ".

Published the following articles :—

(1) Studies in the Early Political System of the East India Company in Bengal (1765-74) : I, the Council and the Select Committee at Fort William—their constitution, powers and Interrelation. (The Dacca University Studies : Volume III, No. 1, July 1938).

(2) Studies in the Early Governmental system of the Company in Bengal (1765-74): II, Civil Service. (Bengal: Past and Present, January-June 1938).

(3) Studies in the Early Governmental system of the Company in Bengal (1765-74): III, Civil Service (Contd.), Society or Committee of Trade. (Bengal: Past and Present, July-December 1938).

(4) A few observations in regard to the East India Company. (In Bengali: Based on contemporary official manuscript records). (Pravasi, *Paus*, 1345).

(5) The Resident at the Durbar (Moorshedabad)—His position and functions (1765-1772), (I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Volume XV).

10. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B. A., Agra.

Contributed the following papers to "Revealing India's Past" published by the India Society, London :—

(1) Conservation of Islamic monuments in the Northern and Eastern India (Chapter II, *Conservation*).

(2) Muslim inscriptions in India (Chapter IV, *Epigraphy*).

Purchased a collection of 28 ancient Mughal documents*.

11. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph. D., Lucknow.

Contributed the following papers to the journals or the publications noted against their titles :—

(1) "The Failure of the Anglo-Maratha Negotiations regarding the Cession of Cuttack". (I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Volume XV).

(2) "The Abdali Menace to Bengal (1767-9)" (Bengal: Past and Present, Volume LV—Parts III-IV).

(3) "A forgotten English Expedition against Prithvi Narayan" (Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Volume XI, Part II).

(4) "European influence on Mughal Architecture" (Twentieth Century, Volume V, No. 53).

(5) "Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra" (Twentieth Century, Volume V, No. 49).

(6) "Unrest on the North West Frontier" (Scholar—Annual, 1938).

(7) "Communalism and Indian History" (Hindustan Review, Volume LXXI—Nos. 403-4).

(8) "The Excluded Areas" (Indian Nation Annual No. 1938).

(9) "The Story of Akbar's Tomb" (Hindustan Standard, Anniversary Number, 1938).

(10) "Who Built the Qutb Minar?" (Amrita Bazar Patrika, Pujah Number 1938).

(11) "The Aboriginal Races of India and the New Constitution" (Modern Review, Volume LXIV—No. 4).

*A note on these documents has been published at the end of this report.

Read the following paper at the Indian History Congress at Allahabad in 1938 :—

“The First English Expedition to Nepal” (This paper as well as items 1 and 2 above form chapters of the author’s monograph on Verelst’s Rule in India, based on original sources and manuscript records of the Government of India. This is one of the works for which the Author has obtained the Degree of D. Litt. from the University of Lucknow.)

12. Sardar Ganda Singh, M. A., Amritsar.

Published the following papers :—

- (i) Contemporary Sources of Sikh History, 1469-1708.
- (ii) *Pahla Ghalughara* or the First Holocaust in Sikh History, 1764.
- (iii) Nadir Shah’s Invasion of India and the Sikhs, 1739.
- (iv) *Jang Singhán te Farangián* by Poet Matak, edited with notes.
- (v) *Baintan Sher Singh Kián* by Poet Nihal Singh, edited with an introduction dealing with the politics of those days, 1840-43.

Examined the archive of the Bengal Government and took copies of the records relating to the relations of the Lahore Darbar with the East India Company during the first half of the 19th century. The most important subjects dealt with in these records are the arrest and release of Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia at Calcutta in 1846 (when even his property was attached to liquidate the claims of the East India Company against his brother Sardar Ranjodh Singh during the war of 1845-46), and the removal of the Attariwala Sardars and Dewan Mulraj from the Punjab in 1850.

Examined and took copies from the records at the Historical Museum, Satara containing the private correspondence of Lords Ellenborough, Hardinge, Gough and Dalhousie with Sir Frederic Currie as well as correspondence of Herbert Edwards, Edward Lake, James Abbott, John Nicholson, Robert Napier, Reynell Taylor and Cocks with the same gentleman as the British Resident at Lahore. This correspondence deals with the affairs of the Punjab during 1846-49 and contains among other things, not only the historical details leading upto the treaty of Bhyrowal—December 16, 1846,—and the Military operations at Multan, Hazara and other places in 1848-49, but traces the Annexation Policy of Lord Dalhousie in respect of the Punjab.

13. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M. A., Monghyr.

Contributed the following papers to the Journals or publications noted against their titles :—

- (1) The New Year Festivals (Man in India).
- (2) A Jain view of the origin of Institutions (Indian Culture, July, 1938).
- (3) Previous Births of Seyyamsa (Jain Antiquary, volume 4, No. 2).
- (4) Note on *Devānuppiya* (Jain Antiquary, December, 1938).
- (5) Crime and Punishment in Jain Literature (Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1939).
- (6) Currency in Orissa (published in the I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Volume XV).

(7) Who were the Pāndyas of Madura ? (This was read at the Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938. To be published in the September issue of the Indian Historical Quarterly).

Is engaged in research regarding :—

(1) The social condition of India that may be gleaned from the study of Jain literature and,

(2) Revenue History of Bihar from Historical Records preserved in the record rooms of Bihar.

14. Mr. K. K. Basu, M. A., Bhagalpur.

Contributed the following papers to the Journals noted against their titles.—

(1) A chapter on the reign of ' Ali ' Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (Sir Denison Ross Memorial volume : New Indian Antiquary Series, Bombay).

(2) The Genealogy and the early career of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal).

(3) The Memoirs of two Bijapuri nobles (Indian Culture, Calcutta).

(4) On the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I and

(5) Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society).

(6) Maharaja Sambhaji (Sree Bharati, the Bengali Journal of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta).

(7) The Early Europeans in Bhagalpur (I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Volume XV).

15. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Patna.

(a) Contributed the following to the Journals or publications as noted against them :—

(1) The Malabar Rajahs and the Company (Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., Volume XV).

(2) The Dutch in Bengal after Bedara (Winternitz Commemoration Volume of the Indian Historical Quarterly).

(3) Some unpublished letters relating to Anglo-Nepalese relations at the beginning of the 19th century (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society June 1939).

(4) (a) The Successor of Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, and (b) Alivardi Khan (These two chapters will be included in the " History of Bengal " to be published by the Dacca University).

(5) Durlabhram,—a prominent Bengali Officer of the mid-eighteenth century (read at the Indian History Congress at Allahabad).

(6) Some unpublished English records of historical importance (Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., Volume XVI).

(b) (i) Compiled a list from contemporary records, of some Bihar officers during the last decades of the 18th and the first decade of the 19th century. (To be published shortly.)

(ii) Prepared notes on the past history of the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpur (under orders from the Government of Bihar).

(iii) Engaged in writing a paper on "The Mutiny in Bihar, Chota Nagpur Manbhum and Singhbhum".

(iv) Assisted the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in editing and publishing the "Bhagalpur Report" of Hamilton Buchanan.

(c) Studied the following documents :—

(1) Unpublished English records discovered at Patna, relating to the different aspects of the History of India during the close of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century.

(2) Unpublished papers relating to the Malabar Rajahs and the Company in the collections of Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna. The Rai Bahadur possesses several other historical records of importance mainly containing the correspondence of Dow.

(3) A Sanad of Rajah Raghunath Bhanja Deo of Mayyurbhanj. It is definitely known from this sanad that Rajah Raghunath Bhanja Deo, and not Jagadisvara Bhanja as wrongly stated in Riyaz, was the contemporary of Nawab Alivardi.

(d) (1) Discovered several letters relating to Shahmat Ali and Mirza Munnu among the records of the District Judges' Court, Patna.

(2) Collections of unpublished Persian letters of importance from the standpoint of eighteenth century Indian History, preserved in some private families in Patna city brought to his notice by his colleague, Prof. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.

16. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Patna.

Has been carrying out researches on "The Sharqi Dynasty of Jaunpur" and "Muslim Architecture in Bihar".

17. Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, C.I.E., Assam.

Contributed the following articles to the Journal of the Assam Research Society :—

(1) Genealogical lists of the Prāggyotīṣa Dynasties, (2) Iran and Eastern India, (3) History behind a phonetic difficulty, (4) Prāggyotīṣa during Kautilya's time, (5) Report of Dr. H. H. Wilson on the Assam coins presented to the Countess of Amherst in 1828.

Has found two inscriptions on stones in the Assam Valley and those are under examination.

18. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O., Assam.

Is engaged in editing the following Assamese manuscripts :—

(1) Sātwata Tantra, a Vaishnavic book in verse.

(2) Niti-Latankur on Rājaniti.

Is also engaged in preparing a descriptive catalogue of about three hundred Sanskrit manuscripts found in Assam. They supply information about the existence of many manuscripts in the possession of private families.

Received a number of arrow like articles of Copper from the Naga Hills locally known as Jabily, which were used as coins in former times. Will publish a note on them in the Journal of the Assam Research Society.

19. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph. D., Delhi.

Worked during the year in England as Leverhulme Research Fellow. Completed the study of Delhi and its territory between 1760 and 1858 and examined in this connection, with the kind permission of their owners, the Metcalf papers and the Trevelyan papers and also the unpublished sources available in the India Office. Continued his study of India in the time of Lord William Bentinck, based upon the official records in the India Office and the Bentinck papers to which he got access through the kind permission of the Duke of Portland through Mr. Philip Morrell.

Wrote the following articles :—

(1) Bentinck and Education. (The Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, No. 1, October 1938).

(2) The early days of Bishop's College, Calcutta. (Based on papers preserved in the Archives of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel: The S. P. G. Archives Series, 1938-39).

20. Rajacharitravisharada Rao Saheb C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.

Examined the following manuscripts :—

(1) *Haidar-Namah* Ms. (1784) from H. H. the Maharaja's palace library, Mysore, in connection with the History of Mysore down to 1800.

(2) Marathi documents bearing on Mysore History (1761-1799).

(3) Documents contained in the volumes of Military Consultations, Country Correspondence, Military Sundries, etc., of the Fort St. George Records, Madras, bearing on Mysore affairs of the period 1761-1831.

(4) Historical Account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan (Selections from the Records of the Madras Government: Dutch Records No. 5). An English translation of this is under preparation.

(5) Maratha Bakhar from Tumukur. (It is expected to be published shortly).

Collected material for the revision of B. L. Rice's *European Tombs and Monuments in Mysore*.

21. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Jodhpur.

Examined 97 old documents belonging to the Jodhpur Government as well as to private persons.

Published the first part of the "History of Marwar", which will throw new light on many obscure points of Rathor history.

22. Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R. Hist. S., Kolhapur.

Has been carrying on correspondence with the Chief Sahebs of Phalton, Jath, Kapshi and Vishalgad with a view securing facilities for examining their records.

Examined the family papers of the Joshiraos of Kolhapur consisting mostly of Inam grants.

23. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., Mayurbhanj.

Wrote two papers on the Epigraphy of Orissa. (1) One of them is about the identity of the inscription slab of Bhatta Bhavadeva fixed at the Anantavasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar and (2) the other is about the suffix "Bhum" used in Bengal and Bihar in place names like Mānabhūmi, Tūngabhūmi, etc.

Examined certain records in Oriya, Kaithi and Persian in the possession of Sibdayal Swain (Village, Sunamuhin, thana, Josipur of Panchpir Sub-Division, Mayurbhanj State). (1) Sibdayal Swain is a descendant of Madhab Das Mahapatra, the Zamindar of Bamanghati, who was expelled from Mayurbhanj in 1835 for rebellion. Madhab Das was granted a pension by the Bengal Government and was allowed to reside at Bundu in the Ranchi District and after his death in 1251 Sal (1844) his descendants were allowed to enter Mayurbhanj and they practically now reside at Sunamuhin although they have a house at Bundu. (2) In the same collection there are several bundles of papers most of which having been on Kaithi and Persian scripts, could not be deciphered excepting the signature of Major T. Wilkinson, the first agent to the Governor-General of the South West Frontier Agency. The signature proves that these papers belong to Madhab Das Mahapatra. (3) Among these papers there are Oriya Sanads granted by the former rulers of the Mayurbhanj State.

24. Cavaliero, P. S. Pissurelencar, Goa.

Contributed the following articles :—

1. Extinction of the Nizam Shahi dynasty.
2. Marhatta expedition to Golconda.
3. The last Portuguese Ambassador to the Moghul Court.
4. The origin of Chauth.
5. Shivaji in Cochin.
6. Portuguese Ambassador in the Court of Sambhaji Chattrapati.
7. Attempts for the restoration of the provinces of the North.
8. Records of Pre-Portuguese Goa.

NOTE ON CERTAIN ANCIENT MUGHAL DOCUMENTS ACQUIRED BY KHAN BAHADUR MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN.*

A very interesting collection consisting of 28 ancient Mughal documents was offered to me for sale during the year 1938-39. It included a few extremely rare deeds, possessing great historical importance, but the owner was anxious to sell the whole collection together, and was not agreeable to break it up. I referred the offer to the Director General of Archaeology in India, recommending the purchase of the documents for display in public museums with a view to enabling scholars to study them. Unfortunately for want of funds that officer expressed his inability

*For the report of Research Work done by him see page 4.

to acquire them. Fearing, however, that this valuable record might be lost or at least be not traced out in future, I acquired the whole collection personally, although the transaction told very heavily upon my poor resources. The documents are now in my possession and the following is a detail of them :—

FARMANS.

(1) Farman of the Emperor Humayun issued under the order of Mirza Askari and bearing his seal impression. It is dated 7th of the month of Jumada II of the year 946 A. H. (20th October 1539 A. D.), and refers to the grant of a village in the Sarkar of Sambhal to one Shaikh Sadullah. Muhammad Askari, better known as Mirza Askari, was the third son of the Emperor Babur. He had the Sarkar of Sambhal conferred upon him on the accession of his eldest brother Humayun to the throne, and this historical fact receives support from the document.

It was during the reign of Akbar that rules prescribing the form of Farmans and the system for their issue were framed, and the documents of that nature, now available, generally belong to the period beginning from the time of that Emperor. Regular Farmans issued by Pathan or early Mughal Emperors prior to Akbar are very rare—at any rate none has ever been brought to my notice—and consequently this document, presenting a specimen of the earlier royal mandate, possesses a great importance. The following are its striking features as compared to the Farmans of Akbar and the subsequent Mughal Emperors.

- (a) Dedicatory religious formula written on the top of Mughal Farmans. The formula on this document is "*Howal Ghani*" which is also to be found on the early Farmans of Akbar. It was subsequently replaced by "*Allaho Akbar*," which during the time of Aurangzeb was substituted by "*Bismillah*".
- (b) *Tughra* or substitute of the sign manual below the dedication. Usually this contains the name of the reigning king and no other authority is noted on Farmans. Against that practice the name of Muhammad Askari as the authority issuing this Farman is written below the name of the ruling king, Muhammad Humayun.
- (c) *Seal impression*.—Impressions of only the Great Seal of the ruling emperors are to be found on the face of Farmans. The Great Seal contains the name and the titles of the Ruling Emperor in the centre, and on the margin around it the names of some of his ancestors up to Timur. This document bears the impression of the seal of Muhammad Askari, which, in the arrangement of its legend, is similar to the Great Seal of the Mughal Emperors. There is no impression of the seal of Humayun, the ruling emperor.
- (d) *Endorsement on the reverse*.—Relative extracts from the State records, notes regarding the checking of the entries, etc., are always to be found written on the back of Farmans. There are no such notes on the reverse of this document, and the absence of them indicates that the practice of making those endorsements originated during the reign of Akbar in accordance with the rules introduced by him.

(2) Farman of the Emperor Akbar conferring a grant of 400 Bighas of land in the village Bawanipur, Khitta (district) Sambhal on Shaikh Buddan and Shaikh

Ahmad. On the reverse there is a seal impression of Bairam Khan dated 964 A. H. (1556-57 A. D.). On the accession of Akbar to the throne Bairam Khan was raised to the office of prime-minister, and he had the whole civil and military powers vested in him. His seal impression on the back of the document shows that he was still in power in 966 A. H. (1559 A. D.) when it was issued. There are a few other seal impressions on the reverse but no endorsements pertaining to the relative extracts from the State records. The document is dated the month of Rabia II of the year 966 A. H. (1559 A. D.).

(3) Farman of the Emperor Akbar conferring the grant of 20 Bighas of land measured with the bamboo-chain in the Pargana Sahaspur, Sarkar Sambhal on Qazi Jamaluddin. On the reverse there are several seal impressions but no endorsements referring to the State records in regard to the grant. The document is dated the month of Rabia II of the year 986 A. H. (1578 A. D.).

(4) Farman of the Emperor Jahangir conferring 15 Bighas of land, measured with the Ilahi yard, in the village of Papri, Pargana Rajabpur, Sarkar Sambhal on Haji Abdul Ghafar for planting a garden. It is dated the 2nd of the month of Tir of the 8th year of Jahangir's accession.

(5) Farman of Shahjahan conferring the grant of 200 Bighas of land, measured with the Ilahi yard, in the Pargana of Amroha, Sarkar of Sambhal on a lady named Khaliqdi and her son. It is dated 11th of the month of Azar of the 5th year Shahjahan's accession.

SANADS.

(6) Sanad issued under the seal impressions of Sayyid Ahmad, the Sadr-us-Sadur, in favour of Shaikh Umar Husain confirming the grant of 102 Bighas of land in the Pargana of Ikrotia, Sarkar Sambhal, bestowed on Sayyid Wali Muhammad and others in a Farman of Jahangir dated 9th of the month of Amardad of the 11th year of his accession. It is dated 5th of the month of Mehr of the same year and bears one more seal impression of Ghayas-ud-Din, an officer of the court of Jahangir.

(7) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Muswi Khan confirming the grant of 25 bighas of land in Pargana Amroha, Sarkar Sambhal, bestowed upon a lady named Bibi Jio and her sons in the Farman of Shahjahan dated 11th Shahriwar of the 12th year of his reign. It is dated 29th of the month Aban of the same year.

(8) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Fateh Muhammad, Sadr, in favour of certain persons, confirming the grant of 394 Bighas and 15 Biswas of land made during the reign of the Emperor Akbar in the village Sarai Shaikh, Pargana Amroha, Sarkar Sambhal. It is dated 29th of Shawwal, the year 1056 A. H. (8th December 1646 A. D.). A list of the names of the persons with a detail of land awarded to each is noted below the body of the Sanad.

(9) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Jafar Kifayat Khan confirming the grant of 120 bighas of land in Pargana Dhakka, Sarkar Sambhal, bestowed upon a lady named Aisha in the Farman of Aurangzeb dated 15th Rabia II of the 17th year of his accession. It is dated 19th Jumada II of the same year.

(10) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Jafar Kifayat Khan confirming the grant of 60 bighas of land in Pargana Amroha, Sarkar Sambhal, bestowed on a

lady named Rabia in the farman of Aurangzeb dated 2nd Safar of the 19th year of his accession. It is dated 11th Rabia II of the same year.

(11) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Muhammad Sami, Sadar, in favour of Umar Husain, confirming the grant of 102 bighas of land made previously in a Farman of Jahangir. It is dated the 6th year of the reign of Farrukh Siyar who is entitled as Alamgir II.

(12) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Mir Buzurg Muswi in favour of Shaikh Muhammad Haris, confirming the grant of 10 bighas of land in the Pargana of Rajabpur, Sarkar Sambhal, out of the grant made in the Farman of Farrukhsiyar dated 3rd year of his accession. It is dated the 3rd of the month of Safar of the 7th year of the reign of Farrukhsiyar who is entitled as Alamgir II.

(13) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Mir Buzurg Muswi, confirming the grant of 350 Bighas of land made in the Farman of Akbar to Sayyid Wali Muhammad and others, the descendants of Sayyid Kabir. It contains a detail of the land apportioned to various persons named, and is dated 24th of the month of Safar of the 7th year of the reign of Farruk Siyar who is entitled as Alamgir II. The document was issued on three sheets of paper pasted together one below the other, and to vouch for the authenticity of the lower sheets their joints are marked again with the seal impressions of Mir Buzurg.

(14) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Sayyid Zahrullah Khan in favour of Maulana Aiyub and others, confirming the grant of 76 bighas of land in the Pargana of Rajabpur, Sarkar Sambhal. It is dated the 12th of the month of Jumada II of the 2nd year of the reign of Muhammad Shah.

(15) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-Mulk, conferring a jagir worth one thousand dams in the Pargana of Islamabad, Dar-ul-Khilafat Shahjahanabad, on Sayyid Ghulam Haidar in suppression of Kishan Sarup. It is dated 11th of Rajab of the 2nd year of the reign of Muhammad Shah, (12th December 1720 A. D.).

Sayyid Abdullah of Bara was the elder of the two brothers known as King-Makers. His full name and titles as given in the seal impression are "Sayyid Abdullah Khan, Bahadur, Zafar Jang, Qutb-ul-Mulk, Yamin-ud-Daula, Sipeh Salar, Yar Wafadar, servant of Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi".

(16) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk. It is dated the 2nd year of Alamgir II, and refers to the grant of a Jagir worth two thousand dams to Sayyid Inayat Ghaus in the Pargana of Kundarki, Sarkar Sambhal.

(17) Sanad issued under the seal impression of Mahmud Khan, the Sadr-us-Sadur, conferring 25 bighas of land in the Pargana of Jalalpur Baraut on Shaikh Muhammad Baqr. It is dated 2nd of the month of Shawwal of the 14th year of the accession of Shah Alam II.

PARWANAS (letters of appointments to the post of Qazi).

(18) Parwana issued under the seal impression of Abdullah Khan Tarkhan, the Sadr-us-Sadur, confirming Ahsanullah in the post of Qazi at the Pargana Azampur, Sarkar Sambhal. It is dated 14th of the month of Muharram of the 1st year of the accession of Ahmad Shah.

(19) Parwana issued under the seal impression of Jalal-ud-Daula Jalal-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Sadr-us-Sadur Samsam Jang, confirming Ahsanullah in the post of Qazi of Azampur. It is dated the 19th of the month of Rajab of the 5th year of the accession of Alamgir II.

(20) Parwana issued under the seal impression of Sadr-us-Sadur Maulvi Aqibat Mahmud, conferring the post of Qazi of the Pargana of Azampur on Ahsanullah in supersession of Zulfiqar Ali. It is dated the first of the month of Shawwal of the 3rd year of the accession of Shah Alam II.

(21) Parwana issued under the seal impression of Muhammad Zia Khan, the assistant of Sadr-us-Sadur Haibat Jang Mukhtar-ud-Daula Saiyid Murtaza Khan Bahadur, confirming Sayyid Allah Bakhah in the post of Qazi of the town of Amroha, Sarkar Sambhal. It is dated 6th of Safar, 1190 Hijra (27th March 1776 A. D.).

(22) Parwana issued under the seal impression of Sadr-us-Sadur Hafiz Ghulam Ahmad, conferring the post of Qazi of Amroha on Sayyid Rahman Bakhsh in supersession of Sayyid Inayat Rasul in compliance with the orders of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula Yahya Khan. It is dated 7th of Rajab, the year 1206 A. H. (1st of March 1792 A. D.) and refers to the period when Rohelkhand was annexed to the principality of Oudh after the Rohela War of 1774 A. D.

PASSPORT (Parwana-i-Rahdari).

(23) Passport for Kabul *via* Jallalabad issued by Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim Khan, the son of Bairam Khan in favour of... Ali Koka. Abdur Rahim Khan's surname was Mirza Khan, and the same is written in the document with his official designation as Sipeh Salar Bahadur (valiant Commander-in-Chief). It begins with the dedicatory expression "Allaho Akbar" and is dated 16th of the month of Shariwar, the year 34 of the Ilahi era, corresponding to 27th of the month of Shawwal of the year 897 A. H. (8th September 1589 A. D.). The seal impression contains the title Khan-i-Khana only and not the name of Abdur Rahim Khan.

TASHIH NAMA (muster certificate).

(24) Tashih Nama (muster certificate) verifying the horses and arms and armour maintained by Sayyid Murad who held the rank of two hundred and fifty. It is dated 10th of the month of Safar of the 11th year of the accession of Muhammad Shah, and bears two seal impressions one of Sayyid Askar Khan and the other of Harji Mal.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

(25) A royal order dated the 24th Rabia I of the 1st year of Aurangzeb's accession and issued under the seal impression of Raja Raghunath confirming the grants made in the Farmans of the Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan in the Pargana of Garhmuktesar. The document shows the principles that were adopted in respect of the previous grants on the change of sovereignty during the Mughal rule.

(26) An order stating that dues payable by the Zamindars of the Pargana of Rajabpur have been in default since the time of the Jagirdari of Rustam Khan, the deceased, and directing that all those dues should be remitted by Darwesh Alam

Zamindar. The document is dated the 25th of Shawwal of the 16th year of the accession of Aurangzeb and bears three seal impressions, one of them from Muhammad Raza, the other from Abdu-s-Sattar and the third from a Hindu official whose name is not clearly readable.

Rustam Khan was a noble in the court of Shahjahan. He had a jagir conferred upon him in the Sarkar of Sambhal and was responsible for founding the town of Moradabad after the name of Murad, the youngest son of Shahjahan. He espoused the cause of Dara and was killed in the battle of Sammu Garh near Agra, fought between that prince and Aurangzeb.

(27) An order issued under the seal impression of Asad Khan to Muhammad Zahid stating that the sum of four thousand and eighty rupees and odd, which due from Darwesh Alam and others, the zamindars and tenants of Rajabpur, was in default from the time of Jagirdari of Rustam Khan, the deceased, has been credited by them in the State treasury and an acknowledgment receipt for the amount obtained. It enjoins on Muhammad Zahid that no demand for the dues should be made from Darwesh Alam and others. Muhammad Zahid seems to have been a revenue official at Pargana Rajabpur. The document is dated 4th of the month of Ziqada of the 16th year of the reign of Aurangzeb. It is in connection with the previous document (item 26) and shows that the demand made therein was complied with promptly in less than 10 days.

(28) Copy of an attestation issued under the seal impression of Qazi Muhammad Fuzail regarding the grant of 877 bighas and 10 biswas of land in the Pargana of Garmuktesar in favour of a lady Misri and Qazi Abdul Karim and others out of a previous grant of 1,170 bighas of land bestowed upon their ancestors. Below the body of the Sanad is an endorsement with a detailed statement showing the names of the grantees and the ara of land apportioned to each. The document, which is a long one, was issued on two sheets of paper pasted one below the other, and the joint thereof was marked again with the seal impression of Qazi Muhammad Fuzail to vouch for the authenticity of the lower sheet. It is dated 15th of Rabia II (originally written Rabia I but corrected as Rabia II) of the 3rd year of Farukh Siyar, who is entitled as Alamgir II.

ADDENDUM.

25. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Agra.

Is engaged in examining a number of private documents in Persian of the time of Akbar, found in possession of some local families and hopes to prove with their help that the Emperor was literate.

Has come across the following Persian Manuscripts :—

- (1) 'Miratul Wardad' :—Tarikh-i-Chaghtai, being a history of the reigns of Mughal Emperors from Amir Timur to Muhammad Shah, written in A. H. 1138 by Muhammad Sharif of Nagina, a contemporary of Muhammad Shah.
- (2) Tarikh-i-Nadri :—History of Nadir Shah by Haji Abdul Karim, who lived in Delhi at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion.

CORRIGENDUM.

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read	For
1	4	'Appendix A'	Rao Sahib C. S.	Rao Sahib G. S.

APPENDIX B.

Report of the meeting of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 30th November 1939.

PRESENT.

MR. JOHN SARGENT, M.A., *Chairman.*

Capt. D. G. HARRINGTON HAWES,

Dr. T. G. P. SPEAR, M.A. PH.D. (Cantab)

Dr. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D., B. LITT (OXON.), *Secretary.*

} *Members.*

REPORT.

1. Preparation of indexes of the classified records of the late Foreign and Political Department. (Under consideration of the Government of India.)

The Keeper of the Records placed specimen indexes of four different documents before the Sub-Committee.

Resolution I.—Resolved that the specimen indexes submitted by the Keeper of the Records be approved and the classified records of the late Foreign and Political Department be indexed on the lines approved.

2. Printing of the list of the classified and separated pre-mutiny records in the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution II.—Resolved that a consolidated list of the classified and separated pre-mutiny records in the Imperial Record Department be printed.

3. Completion of archives by obtaining from the India Office or provincial record rooms copies of documents missing in the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution III.—Resolved that arrangements be made for the completion of the different series in the custody of the Imperial Record Department by securing transcripts of missing records either from the Provincial Record Rooms or from the India Office.

N.B.—The suggestion of meeting the typing expenses from such savings from the budget grant of the office as may be effected under the head "T. A. of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission" or under other heads was also approved.

4. Classification of the Persian Records.

Resolution IV.—Resolved that the Persian Records need not be classified and separated.

5. Programme of work connected with the typing of faded documents.

Resolution V.—Resolved that the programme of typing faded documents be approved.

6. Formation of a Literary Sub-Committee of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee.

Resolution VI.—Resolved that a Literary Sub-Committee with Dr. Spear and the Secretary as members be constituted for scrutinising and editing papers submitted for reading at the open session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

7. Throwing open of a portion of the archives to the public. (Under consideration of the Government of India).

The question was discussed at some length and it was decided to announce the agreed results of the discussion at an early date.

JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman.*

D. G. HARRINGTON HAWES, *Member.*

T. G. P. SPEAR, *Member.*

S. N. SEN, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX C.

Progress report of the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department up to the 30th November 1939.

Departments.	Branches.	Papers classified.		Papers unclassified.		Remarks.
		Period.	Number.	Period.	Number approximate.	
Home	Public	1761-1857	2,14,166	..	..
	Public Governor General's Proceedings. (a)	1837-55	4,175	..	..
Education, Health and Lands.	Judicial	1834-57	19,316	..	..
	Judicial Governor General's Proceedings (a)	1831-51	4,672	..	..
	Education	1857	490	..	..
	Medical	1845-57	29,623	..	..
	Land Revenue	1830-59(b)	5,947	..	..
Commerce.. ..	Ecclesiastical	1815-59(b)	11,569	..	..
	Railways	1850-59(b)	16,772	..	..
Industries and Labour	Emigration	1835-59(b)	107	..	..
	Post Office	1855-59(b)	1,033	..	..
	Public Works and Electric Telegraphs.	1850-59(b)	52,443	..	..
		(b)				
Defence	Military	1786-1859	2,91,498	..	..
	Up-Country (a)	1837-59	35,000	..	..
	Marine	1838-59(b)	9,994	..	..
	Estate Papers	1826-59	50,000	..	..
	Quarter Master General	1841-59	54,701	..	..
Foreign and Political	Select Committee .. .	1762-74	31	..	..
	Secret	1764-1859	1,40,442	..	..
	Secret and Separate ..	1773-1811	5,202	..	..
	Foreign	1783-1842	16,784	..	..
	Political	1790-1859	3,60,478	..	..
	Secret Dept. of Inspection	1770-87	317	..	..
Finance	Finance	1790-1859	31,150	1846-1859	63,850	
Legislative ..	....	..	..	1777-1854	29,500	

(a) Letters received and issued by the Governor-General while on tour.

(b) Records of 1858 and 1859 were weeded by the departmental weeders.

APPENDIX D.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission
(corrected up to the 31st December 1939).

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
I.—IN ENGLAND.		
1	Sir Edward Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D., Director, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London), and formerly Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Finsbury Circus, London, E. C. 2.	London.
2	Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, Mountfield Court, 179, West Heath Road, London, N. W. 3.	
3	Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1.	
4	Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.	
5	Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F. R. Hist. S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford.	
II.—IN BRITISH INDIA.		
ASSAM.		
6	Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Hony. Provincial Director, Deptt. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam	Gauhati.
*7	Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, C.I.E., Shillong.	
8	Mr. S. C. Goswami, Inspector of Schools, Assam.	
9	Rai Bahadur Amar Nath Ray, Zamindar, Sunamganj.	
BENGAL.		
10	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., 6-A, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
11	Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta.	
12	Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta.	
13	The Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. Fernandes, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Calcutta.	Dacca.
14	Hakim Habibur Rahman, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca	
15	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dacca.	
16	Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University.	
17	Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutt, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond.), P. O. Birnagar, District, Nadia, Bengal	Nadia.

*Since Deceased.

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
BIHAR.		
18	Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), M.R.A.S., Principal, Patna College, Patna.	Patna.
19	Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.	
20	Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lecturer, Patna University.	
21	Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum.	
22	Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr ..	Monghyr.
23	Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpore	Bhagalpore.
BOMBAY.		
24	Mr. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.	Poona.
25	Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona	
26	Dr. B. A. Saleatore, M.A., Ph.D., (Lond.), D. Phil (Giessen), Prof. of History, S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad.
DELHI.		
27	Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Professor of History, St. Stephen's College, Delhi	Delhi.
MADRAS.		
28	Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History & Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram ..	Vizianagram.
29	Rao Sahib C. S. Srinavasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History & Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar	Annamalainagar.
30	Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Reader in History, Andhra University, Waltair	Waltair.
31	Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History & Archaeology, Madras University, Madras.	Madras.
32	Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A. (Oxon.), Prof. of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.	
33	Mr. J. Franco, M.A., L.T., Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.	
34	Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.	
35	Raja Bahadur Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Sahab of Tekkali, District Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam
PUNJAB.		
36	Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur.

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
37	Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.	Lahore.
38	Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore.	
39	Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Prof. of Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar	Amritsar.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.		
40	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra.
41	Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.	
42	Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.	Lucknow.
43	Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., D. Litt. Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.	
III.—IN INDIAN STATES.		
HYDERABAD.		
44	Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director General, Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Hyderabad.
45	Syed Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-i-Devani, Mal and Mulki, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).	
MYSORE.		
46	Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore	Bangalore.
BARODA.		
47	Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda	Baroda.
GWALIOR.		
48	Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior	Gwalior.
49	Dr. Prakas Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph. D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.	
TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.		
50	Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R. Hist. S., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, and Director of Public Instruction, Travancore	Travancore and Cochin.
51	Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology in Travancore State	Travancore.
INDORE.		
52	Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.	Indore.
53	Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore	

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
JODHPUR.		
54	Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur State	Jodhpur.
KOLHAPUR.		
55	Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R. Hist. S., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur	Kolhapur.
MAYURBHANJ.		
56	Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, Orissa	Mayurbhanj.

IV.—IN FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

FRENCH.		
57	Mons. Alfred Lehuraux	Chahdernagar.
PORTUGUESE.		
58	Cavaliero, Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Goa	Nova Goa.

V.—IN BURMA.

59	Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon.	} Rangoon.
60	Mr. U. Ba Dun, Bar-at-Law, Secretary to the House of Representatives, Rangoon.	

APPENDIX E (1).

List of Historical Publications of the Government of the Punjab.

Serial No.	Name.				Present price.	No. of copies in stock.	Reduced price.	Remarks.
					Rs. A.		Rs. A.	
	Press Lists of old Records							
	Volume—							
1	I	..	..	..	10 4	18	5 0	
2	II	..	..	..	9 4	20	4 8	
3	III	..	..	..	16 14	19	8 8	
4	IV	..	..	..	16 0	19	8 0	
5	V	..	..	..	9 8	25	4 12	
6	VI	..	..	..	13 8	18	6 12	
7	VII	..	..	..	15 8	21	7 12	
8	VIII	..	..	..	24 8	24	12 4	
9	IX	..	..	..	12 8	22	6 8	
10	X	..	..	..	18 4	23	9 0	
11	XI	..	..	..	15 0	} ..	..	Out of stock.
12	XII	..	..	..	15 0		..	
13	XIII	..	..	..	30 0		..	
14	XIV	..	..	..	12 8		..	
15	XV	..	..	..	45 0	2	22 8	
16	XVI	..	..	..	40 0	7	20 0	
17	XVII	..	..	..	50 0	17	25 0	
18	XVIII	..	..	..	60 0	18	30 0	
19	XIX	..	..	..	50 0	23	25 0	
20	XX	..	..	..	80 0	24	40 0	
21	XXI	..	..	..	65 0	23	32 8	
22	XXII	..	..	..	24 0	23	12 0	
23	XXIII	..	..	..	95 0	18	47 8	
24	XXIV	..	..	..	47 0	26	23 8	
25	XXV	..	..	..	47 0	22	23 8	

Serial No.	Name.				Present price.	No. of copies in stock.	Reduced price.	Remarks.
					Rs. A.		Rs. A.	
26	Revenue Record	45 0	..	22 8	
27	Mutiny Papers	48 0	8	24 0	
	Index to Press List Volume—							
28	I	2 4	60	1 8	A uniform price of 1/8/- per copy is proposed from I to XXIV.
29	II	..	..	..	2 4	60	1 8
30	III	..	..	..	2 14	60	1 8
31	IV	..	..	..	3 0	60	1 8
32	V	..	..	..	2 4	60	1 8
33	VI	..	..	..	2 8	21	1 8
34	VII	..	..	..	2 8	17	1 8
35	VIII	..	..	..	2 8	73	1 8
36	IX	..	..	..	1 12	72	1 8
37	X	..	..	..	1 12	73	1 8
38	XI	..	..	..	1 12	73	1 8
39	XII	..	..	..	1 8	73	1 8
40	XIII	..	..	..	1 14	16	1 8
41	XIV	..	..	..	1 14	16	1 8
42	XV	..	..	..	2 9	15	1 8
43	XVI	..	..	..	2 6	18	1 8
44	XVII	..	..	..	2 10	18	1 8
45	XVIII	..	..	..	2 14	18	1 8
46	XIX	..	..	..	2 4	17	1 8
47	XX	..	..	..	2 2	17	1 8
48	XXI	..	..	..	2 7	17	1 8
49	XXII	..	..	..	1 8	17	1 8
50	XXIII	..	..	..	2 12	17	1 8
51	XXIV	..	..	..	2 4	18	1 8
52	XXV	1 0	18	1 0	No change.
53	Index to Press List Revenue Department Supplementary				3 2	19	1 8	

Serial No.	Name.				Present price.	No. of copies in stock.	Reduced price.	Remarks.
					Rs. A. 1 2		Rs. A. 1 0	
54	Index to Press List Judicial Department.				1 2	19	1 0	
55	Index to Mutiny Papers, ..				1 4	18	1 0	
	Punjab Records Volume—							
56	I	5 8	14	2 12	Uniform price of Rs. 2/12/- per copy in respect of each Volume.
57	II	..	..	..	5 8	9	2 12
58	III	..	..	..	5 8	50	2 12
59	IV	..	..	..	5 8	51	2 12
60	V	..	..	..	5 8	54	2 12
61	VI	..	..	..	5 8	61	2 12
62	VII P.-1	..	..	..	5 8	93	2 12
63	VII P.-2	..	..	..	5 8	97	2 12
64	VIII P.-1	..	..	..	5 8	105	2 12
65	VIII P.-2	..	..	..	5 8	105	2 12
66	IX	2 12	32	2 12	No change.
	Monograph No.—							
67	1	2 12	58	2 0	Out of stock.
68	2	..	..	..	1 6	76	1 0
69	3	..	..	..	0 8	..	..
70	4	..	..	..	1 6	77	1 0
71	5	..	..	..	2 2	124	1 8
72	6	..	..	..	4 0	31	2 0
73	7	..	..	..	3 12	115	2 0
74	8	..	..	..	1 8	73	1 0
75	9	..	..	..	8 8	133	4 4
76	10	..	..	..	3 8	105	2 8
77	11	..	..	..	3 8	135	2 8
78	12	..	..	..	3 12	102	2 8
79	13	..	..	..	4 8	56	3 8
80	14	..	..	..	8 12	82	4 8

Serial No.	Name.	Present price.	No. of copies in stock.	Reduced price.	Remarks.
		Rs. A.		Rs. A.	
	Monograph No.— <i>contd.</i>				
81	15	10 0	102	5 0	
82	16	3 4	105	2 8	
83	17	8 8	155	4 4	
84	18	3 0	146	2 4	
85	European Adventurers in the Punjab. Catalogue of Khalsa Darbar Records Volume—	5 0	284	2 8	Original price Rs. 10.
86	I	2 8	35	1 4	
87	II	7 8	59	3 12	
88	Supplementary List of Inscriptions on tombs and monuments.	10 0	47	5 0	

APPENDIX E (2).

Bengal Historical Records (already published), edited by the Ven. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Litt. B., late Archdeacon of Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, 1758.—Price Re. 1 or 1s. 4d.

The Letter Copy Books of the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, 1769-1770.—Price Rs. 8 or 12s.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. I, 27th September to 28th November 1770.—Price Rs. 8 or 12s.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. II, 3—31 December 1770.—Price Rs. 6 or 12s.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. III, 3rd January to 14th February 1771.—Price Rs. 6.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. IV, 18th February to 28th March 1771.—Price Rs. 5-4.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. V, 1st April to 15th July 1771.—Price Rs. 11-8.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vols. VI, VII and VIII, 18th July to 30th December 1771.—Price Rs. 16-4.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. VII (A), 2nd September to 21st October 1771.—Price Rs. 4-4.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. IX, 4th January to 28th January 1772.—Price Rs. 9.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. X, 2nd March to 4th May 1772.—Price Rs. 9-4.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. XI, 7th May to 25th June 1772.—Price Rs. 7.

Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, Vol. XII, 2nd July to 8th September 1772 and Copy Book of Letters issued by the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, 28th September 1772 to 2nd March 1774.—Price Rs. 12.

Letter Copy Book of the Supervisor of Rajshahi at Nator (Letters issued), 30th December 1769 to 15th September 1772.—Price Rs. 5-8.

Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and Kasimbazar, Vols. I, II and III, 10th June to 17th September 1772.—Price Rs. 19 or £1 10s.

Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Dacca, Vol. IV, 3rd October to 28th November 1772.—Price Rs. 15-8 or £1 4s.

Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Purnea and Rajmahal, Vols. V, VI, VII and VIII, 16th December 1772 to 18th February 1773.—Price Rs. 17-8 or £1, 7s. 6d.

Bengal District Records edited by the Ven. W. K. Firminger, 'D. D., Litt. B., late Archdeacon of Calcutta.

Midnapore, Vol.	I, 1763-7	..	..	..	..	Rs. 3 or 4s.
„	„ II, 1768-70	..	..	..	..	Rs. 3 or 4s.
Rangpur	„ I, 1770-9	..	..	..	..	Rs. 3 or 4s.
„	„ II, 1779-82	..	..	..	..	Rs. 8-12 (receipts).
Dinajpur	„ I, 1787-9	..	..	..	..	Rs. 3 or 4s.
Rangpur	„ I, 1770, 1777-79	..	..	..	..	As. 12 (supplement).
„	„ III, 1783-5	..	..	..	..	Rs. 14-8 (receipts).
„	„ IV, 1779-85	..	..	..	..	Rs. 7-4 (issues).
„	„ V, 1786-87	..	..	..	..	Rs. 32-8 or £2 10s. (receipts).
„	„ VI, 1786-87	..	..	..	..	Rs. 43 or £3 6s. (issues).
Chittagong	„ I, 1760-73	..	..	..	..	Rs. 9.
Dinajpur	„ II, 1786-88	Rs. 13 (issues).
Midnapur	„ III, 1771-74	Rs. 18 (receipts).
„	„ IV, 1770-74	Rs. 20-9 or £1 11s. 6d. (issues).

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Letter Copy Books of the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad for 1769, 70 and 1772-4, and Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad, 27th September 1770 to 8th September 1772, etc.—Price Rs. 13-10 or 20s. 6d.

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Proceedings of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 6th December 1773 to 28th December 1775.—Price Rs. 2 or 3s. 6d.

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Proceedings of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, 2nd January 1776 to 29th December 1777.—Price Rs. 4 or 6s. 9d.

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Volume I.

Proceedings of the Controlling Committee of Commerce, 28th March 1771 to 20th November 1773.—Price Rs. 2 or 3s.

Volume II.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 24th November 1774 to 17th December 1776.—Price Rs. 28-4.

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SELECT INDEX TO THE GENERAL LETTERS.

From the Court of Directors, Judicial Department, 1795-1854.—Price Rs. 2-6.

Volume I.

Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Revenue, Territorial Revenue, Territorial Financial, and Miscellaneous Revenue

Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1771-1858.—Price Rs. 17-4 or £1-7s. 3d.

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Select Index to General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Separate Revenue, Commercial, Commercial Financial and Territorial Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1765-1854.—Price Rs. 7-8 or 12s.

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(1) Catalogue of the English Records, 1758-1858 and Vernacular Records, 1624-1828, preserved in the Historical Record Room, Government of Bengal.—Price Rs. 3-12.

(2) A Bibliography of Bengal Records, 1632-1858.—Price As. 14 or 1s. 6d.

(3) "Sannyasi and Fakir Raiders in Bengal" by Rai Sahib Jamini Mohan Ghosh, B.A., B.C.S.—Price Re. 1-8 or 2s. 6d.

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Narrative Abstracts of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Separate Revenue and Commercial including Commercial Financial and Territorial Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1765-1854.

Volume III.

Narrative Abstracts of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Judicial Department of the Government of Bengal, 1793-1858.

Volume IV.

Narrative Abstracts of General Letters to and from the Court of Directors in the Public or General, Ecclesiastical, Public Works Railway, Public Works (Revenue), Legislative and Financial Departments of the Government of Bengal, 1834-1856.

APPENDIX E (3).

List of the Imperial Record Department publications.

Name of publications.						Original price per copy.	Reduced price per copy.
						Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. Press-list of Public Department proceedings—							
Vol. I	..	..	..	..	..	Not available for sale.	
„ II	1754-55	..	..	..	..	1 0 0	0 4 0
„ III	1755-56	..	..	..	..	1 0 0	0 4 0
„ IV	1757-58	..	..	..	..	1 8 0	0 6 0
„ V	1759	..	..	..	..	2 0 0	0 8 0
„ VI	1760-65	..	..	..	..	1 8 0	0 6 0
„ VII	1765-69	..	..	..	..	2 8 0	0 10 0
„ VIII	1770-74	..	..	..	..	5 0 0	1 4 0
„ IX	1775-79	..	..	..	..	7 0 0	1 12 0
„ X-XVII	..	..	..	..	..	Not available for sale.	
„ XVIII	1748-1800 (Supplement)	..	..	..	..	1 12 0	0 7 0
Index to the above 1748-1800						32 12 0	..
2. Bengal and Madras papers—							
Vol. I	..	..	..	..	..	20 0 0	5 0 0
„ II	..	..	..	..	..	30 0 0	7 8 0
„ III	..	..	..	..	..	20 0 0	5 0 0
3. Press-list of Bengal and Madras Papers						5 6 0	1 5 6
4. Press-list of the Foreign Department Records—							
Series I Select Committee 1756-1774						5 0 0	1 4 0
Series III Sec. Dept. Vol. I, 1763-1775						9 0 0	2 4 0
„ IV Sec. Dept. of Inspection 1770 ; 1778 ; 1782-87.						3 0 0	0 12 0
5. Calendar of Indian State Papers (Published for the Records Commission in 1864).						4 0 0	1 0 0
6. Calendar of Persian Correspondence—							
Vol. I	1759-1767	..	..	..	..	6 4 0	1 9 0
„ II	..	..	..	..	..	Not available for sale.	
„ III	1770-1772	..	..	..	..	6 2 0	1 8 6

APPENDIX F.

A collection of Historical Documents* from Travancore.

Number of records.—Nine obtained and deciphered (many others of the same collection yet to be secured and copied).

Date.—17th century, fag end of the Portuguese period of History of Malabar.

Subject.—Ecclesiastical strife and struggles in the Syrian Christian Church of Malabar during the episcopate of Archbishop Stephen de Britto, S. J. (died 1641) and of his successor Archbishop Francis Garcia, S. J. (died 1659), *i.e.*, after the famous Synod of Diamper (1599) and before the advent of the Dutch (1663).

Material.—Thick paper, foolscap size.

Language.—Malayalam, Syriac, and Portuguese.

Characters.—Vatteluttu, Syriac and Roman respectively. Paper documents written in obsolete Vatteluttu script are very rare.

These papers help in deciding whether the “Malabar-Tamil” types (so called by Fra. Paulinus a San Bartolomeo in his *India Orientalis Christiana* (1794) cast and used for the first time by Gonsalvez in 1577, in Cochin to make the earliest book printed in India, were actually for the Tamil letters still surviving or for the Vatteluttu letters which went out of vogue about a century ago.

Details regarding the above 9 documents.

Document No. 1.—Foolscap full sheet, lower half of first page, in Vatteluttu dated 21st October 1627, from the church at Ankamali now in Travancore. Begins thus: “We Mar Esteppanos, Bishop of the Archdiocese of Malabar,” and ends with his signature “O Arudo Endu” (Archbishop of India) on the right and his seal on dark brown sealing wax, almost entirely broken off. No cross mark.

Document No. 2.—Foolscap full sheet, 1st two pages in Vatteluttu. Not dated. Begins (like No. 1) thus: “We Mar Esteppanos, Bishop of Malabar.” No cross mark or signature or seal at the end.

Stephen de Britto was Archbishop from 1624 to 1641 according to Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore* 1901, p. 74.

Document No. 3.—Foolscap full sheet. Letter to the King of Cochin, written on the first page only with address on the fourth page, lengthwise; the whole in Vatteluttu. Not dated; probably of 1637. Begins (below a cross mark) thus:—“Affair to be made known to His Highness's mind. Bishop's letter. To be seen by Itti Unichatta Nampiar, and ends with the Bishop's signature in Portuguese ‘O Ar^u do Endu’”. No cross mark. No seal to the left of the signature. The sheet was folded after the fashion of those days and sealed outside in one corner and addressed (without envelope) thus: “Affair to be seen by Itti Utichatta Nampiar”. This must have been the King's Private Secretary or Scribe. Size of letter as folded 6·2"×3·6".

*These documents are in the possession of a private gentleman at Kottayam in north Travancore. They have been unearthed and deciphered by Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A., Pro-vice Chancellor, Travancore University and a corresponding member of the I. H. R. C. The note has been prepared by him with the assistance of Mr. T. K. Joseph, Superintendent, Department of Publications, Travancore University.

Document No. 4.—Foolscap $\frac{1}{4}$ sheet. Archbishop's (perhaps Stephen's) letter in Vatteluttu to his Archdeacon. Not dated or sealed. Begins (below a cross mark) thus: "The Archbishop's letter. Affairs to be seen by our Archdeacon" and with the signature "Ar^u do Endu" as in No. 1 and No. 3.

Document No. 5.—Foolscap $\frac{3}{8}$ sheet. Bishop Mar Thomas's letter in Vatteluttu dated 1653, and signed and sealed by him. Begins (below a cross mark) thus: "From Bishop Mar Thomas ruling over Malabar (dated) Saturday the 20th day of December 1653 and ends with a cross mark and his signature in Syriac 'tarho de kulo Hendu' (The Gate of All India) on the right and his seal on dark brown sealing wax and another cross mark to the left. "The Gate of All India" was the designation usually adopted by the Malabar Syrian Christian Bishops until about a century ago.

This Bishop is the well-known Archdeacon Thomas a Campo who, on May 22nd 1653, was consecrated Bishop by 12 priests alone after the riotous revolt and the famous "Coonen Cross" oath of the Syrian Christians against European ecclesiastical authority in 1653 at Mattancheri in Cochin.

Document No. 6.—Foolscap full sheet, first three pages written in Vatteluttu. Not dated, but probably of 1653. Begins (below a cross mark) thus: 'In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost'. No signature or seal or cross mark at the end.

Document No. 7.—Foolscap full sheet, written in Vatteluttu on the first two pages. Letter of Mar Ignatius, 1st Patriarch of India and China, to the Syrian Christians of Malabar, dated from Rome on 25th December of the year 1669 of the Era of Alexander (A. D. 1658).

Document No. 8—Foolscap half sheet. Vatteluttu on lower half of first page and on second page. Not dated. Probably of 1657. Begins (below a cross mark) thus: "To be seen by the Armenian come from Mecca," and ends with a cross mark and the signature in Portuguese of Dentura the Erruasian (Tuppai), Secretary. This is a scolding, slandering letter written at the instance of the Portuguese Captain of the Fort of Cochin and of the Commissary Apostolic in answer to an interloping Armenian Bishop's letter to the Captain and the Commissary. To show their contempt they do not reply over their own signatures.

Document No. 9.—Foolscap half sheet, folded across (like a note paper) and written in Vatteluttu on the first page alone. Not dated. Purports to be a summary of the celebrated copperplate charter granted by Cheraman Perumal, (i.e., the Chera King of Cranganore) to the Foreign merchant prince Thomas of Cana in 345 A. D.

APPENDIX G.

PHOTO-REGISTRY.

MICRO-FILMING.

Scale of fees for, of records of private individuals and institutions.

Government of Bombay.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Resolution No. 10059/33.

Bombay, Castle, 19th April 1939.

LETTER FROM THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF REGISTRATION, NO. P.H.-42, DATED THE 4TH MARCH 1939.

Resolution.—Sanction is accorded to the charging of fees for micro-filming by Government Photo-Registry Poona, at the rate of 2 annas per negative of the size of $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$. The following scale of fees is prescribed for recognised institutions and scholars requiring films for *bona fide* research work—

							Fees.
							As. P.
1. For micro-filming only—for each side or a portion of side photographed .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	0 9
2. For taking prints, additional charge for each negative printed—	size of print—						
	$7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$	..	..	..	..	..	1 0
	$10'' \times 6''$	..	..	..	..	..	1 9
	$12'' \times 7''$	..	..	..	..	..	2 6

The Inspector General of Registration should decide whether or not a particular order is for *bona fide* research work.

By order of the Governor of
Bombay,

V. SHANKAR,

Under Secretary to Government.



